

# **The material preconditions for engagement in the police: A case study of UK police culture and engagement in times of radical change**

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“Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award”

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## **Abstract**

This work takes the model of a climate of organisational engagement provided by Kahn (1990) as the theoretical basis for renewed research within the context of UK policing. It is argued that the fiscal, structural and political environment of UK policing has changed to such an extent as to both render some aspects of classic police cultural commentary out-dated, but also create an environment in which material job resources, such as equipment and the allocation of officers, are of crucial importance to police officer psychology. It is argued that this emphasis on material job resources is a necessary development of Kahn's (1990) original theory of the preconditions for engagement due to the context of the policing environment which exhibits instances of physical danger, distinct from Kahn's (1990) original case setting. The application of a critical realist research paradigm to a comparative study of employee engagement in two contrasting police forces produces a model that modifies Kahn's (1990) psychological preconditions for engagement. To create the conditions in which officers can fully engage in their roles, policing organisations must provide a benchmark level of material job resources as a precursor to furnishing an environment in which officers feel psychological safety, availability and meaningfulness. Without these benchmark material resources it is argued that officers cannot psychologically engage in their work. Collectively it is argued that both the material and psychological preconditions form the climate of engagement that predicts in role personal engagement. In pursuit of study for a professional Doctorate in Business Administration the work then reflects upon this theoretical development in context, suggesting a number of HRM interventions which may be particularly applicable to achieving improved engagement within the organisational setting.

## 1.0 - Introduction

This research brings together the topics of employee engagement and police culture, seeking to provide theoretical and practical advances to police leaders and academics alike. The work takes a model of engagement developed by Kahn (1990) as the theoretical basis for renewed research within the context of UK policing. The major theoretical contribution is the development of a moderated model of Kahn's (1990) original, which integrates the construct of *material* preconditions as necessary antecedent conditions for the fulfilment of Khan's *psychological* preconditions. Collectively, the two sets of preconditions create a climate in which one can engage fully in role behaviours. In plain English, it is argued that in order to create the conditions in which officers can fully engage in their roles, policing organisations must not only provide an environment in which officers feel psychological safety, availability and meaningfulness, but as a precursor must also be provided a benchmark level of material job resources. Without these benchmark material resources, it is argued, officers cannot psychologically engage in their work. Collectively it is argued that both the material and psychological preconditions form the climate of engagement that predicts in role personal engagement. The work makes this argument in context, adopting a critical realist paradigm to avoid the pitfalls of polarised ontological and epistemological positions. By recognising knowledge as fallible and grounded in time and space, context is a crucial critical realist consideration.

The research achieves its aims by answering two related research objectives. Objective one asks:

1. How can the application of a moderated model of engagement improve understanding of employee engagement in UK policing?

In pursuance of practical knowledge, objective two questions:

2. How can the application of theoretical models of engagement assist in the optimisation of a climate of engagement in a rapidly changing organisational and political policing context?

In this research the context is the key which has unlocked the theoretical development. Selecting two UK police forces which have strong similarities, yet simultaneous significant differences, particularly surrounding their relative financial position and how each has fostered the concept of engagement, provides an effective diverse case model. The macro context of UK policing is explored as exhibiting significant fiscal austerity, significant structural change and a politicisation of policing agendas. It is argued that this level of

change has effectively created the tipping point which renders some classical views of police culture as invalid. It is also argued that the stress conditions caused by this pressure in austerity, particularly for one organisation, have created an officer focus upon material job resources such as officer numbers, and personal protective equipment and a general focus upon base 'hygiene factors' such as sleep and food.

It is this focus upon material preconditions for which Kahn's (1990) unmoderated model of engagement cannot fully account. Kahn's (1990) unmoderated model of psychological preconditions is demonstrated as comprising necessary antecedent conditions for engagement but not sufficient without the addition of the construct of material preconditions. In the moderated version of Kahn's (1990) model it is suggested that material preconditions are precursors to the psychological preconditions of safety and availability, which together with psychological meaningfulness form the climate for engagement that predicts physical, cognitive and emotional engagement in role. In reaching this moderated model of engagement, it is the use of a critical realist method of logical retrodution that allows the recognition of emergent knowledge. It is argued that the triangulation of multiple qualitative methods (ethnography, semi-structure interviews, documentary analysis) within an overarching case study is the manifestation of retrodution, allowing the research to identify the social reality of the interplay between human being and social constructs in what critical realists describe as the intermediate level. It is the job of retrodution to allow us to transcend what is observed to an understanding of what is really going on within this intermediate level and to ascribe causal effect to factors within it.

The research comes at an opportune moment for policing, which is essentially seeking to do more with less and undergoing numerous financial cuts under successive UK Government spending reviews. In July 2014 Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) indicated UK forces had implemented plans to save £2.5 billion (from an overall UK budget of approximately £14 billion) with planned reductions of some 34,000 police staff and officers (HMIC, 2014). As such the power of strategic human resource policy, which aims to improve both organisational effectiveness and staff welfare, is clearly worth pursuing. Employee engagement supposedly offers that potential with a doctrine which is purportedly both good for the employee and employer. Yet the validity of the academic construct of engagement is hotly debated. This work seeks to examine and affirm the theoretical position as it emerges within the context of UK policing.

## 1.1 – Organisational Context – Westshire and Eastshire

Westshire and Eastshire police services have much in common, yet simultaneously many differences which make them ideal partners as effective diverse cases.<sup>1</sup> Whilst of different sizes, both police services sit in Southern England exhibiting rural and urban environments, a mix of strategic national infrastructure (motorways, mainline railways, airports) and a demographic ranging from predominantly white British rural communities to highly diverse urban communities. Between them, Westshire and Eastshire have a budget of some £300 million and employ almost 3000 police officers. Both forces share a number of collaborated functions. Westshire and Eastshire share services including major crime and counter terrorist investigation, scientific services, professional standards, dogs, roads policing, armed policing, public order planning and support services to speed cameras and collisions.

Whilst Westshire and Eastshire exhibit many similarities the forces maintain independent command teams, are independent forces and exhibit differing outlooks. In its 2014 review of police financial management HMIC (2014) detailed that Eastshire was providing overall 'Good' value for money, was on target to meet its savings whilst maintaining operational effectiveness. In contrast Westshire was provided a grading of "Required Improvement" and although on target to meet its savings, this was being achieved at the expense of high crime and low public satisfaction. From the perspective of employee engagement the forces also herald from different starting points. Eastshire has worked since 2009 with a version of the Gallup Q12 survey, a well-embedded survey instrument and a growing organisational consideration of employee engagement.<sup>2</sup> Westshire conversely was a much later starter, investing in 2013 in a consultancy engagement product. In summary the organisations provide a useful diverse case setting with sufficient similarity yet sufficient difference to provide appropriate contrast to allow meaning to be abstracted through retrodution.

## 1.2 – Research Summary

This research is undertaken for the purposes of a professional doctorate in business administration. As such it is designed to tread the dual ground between theoretical and practical contribution. The research begins in chapter two, charting the major theoretical fields of personal engagement, burnout antithesis, work engagement, employee engagement and job demands-resources. Ultimately Kahn's (1990) model of personal engagement and his identification of the psychological preconditions of safety, availability and meaningfulness are identified as the most compelling of the competing theories. Other

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<sup>1</sup> Westshire and Eastshire are pseudonyms for the actual force names.

<sup>2</sup> As described in chapter 2, the Gallup Q12 is an organisational survey of satisfaction climate developed by the Gallup corporation and used extensively around the world.

engagement-related psychological constructs are examined, including public service motivation, gender and diversity, and strategic human resources practice. Chapter two concludes with the review of a compelling model recently developed by Saks and Gruman (2014) which seeks to integrate elements of Kahn's (1990) model with elements of the job demands-resources model.

Chapter three analyses police cultural literature, looking firstly at the change climate of modern policing, drives to 'modernise' its workforce, the financial challenge placed upon policing, UK Government reviews of policing issues (Hutton, 2011, Winsor 2011, 2012, Neyroud, 2010), greater collaboration and the changes to strategic governance. The drive of this commentary is to highlight the dramatic landscape of unprecedented change and politicisation within UK policing. This landscape is then applied as a prism through which to view the doctrine of traditional police culture identified by Reiner (2010) including review of themes of mission-action-cynicism-pessimism, suspicion, isolation-solidarity, conservatism, machismo, racial prejudice and pragmatism. It is essentially argued that the context of policing has changed to such an extent as to render elements of this classical view of police culture invalid in the current climate. The chapter concludes with a review of the literature which jointly applies to Kahn's (1990) psychological preconditions and their application to a policing context.

Chapter four identifies the methodological and method choices for this study. The chapter begins by highlighting common problems with the garnering of knowledge in the management tradition, and how these can be met through the adoption of a critical realist research paradigm. Critical realism is positioned as a methodology which avoids the polarised ontological positions of positivism/interpretivism and in so doing provides a research paradigm which is particularly appropriate to the study of employee engagement. The context of research is explored as particularly relevant to the critical realist view of knowledge as fallible, rooted in geography and time. Triangulation within a case study design is described as a practical manifestation of critical realist retrodution alongside a set of critical realist case study principles. This is in addition to the exploration of more standard case study design principles which help to ensure robust knowledge and generalisability of a kind applicable to the research philosophy. Challenges for the research methodology are discussed, and the issues of ethics and data analysis are considered.

Chapter five provides the main findings for the work. It uses the structure provided by Kahn's (1990) psychological preconditions as a presentational frame examining the observed data within each conceptual area linking relevant areas of police culture. The chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings at the observational level, but not yet at the level of

retroductively discovered explanation of the causal powers in operation. Findings include a strong demonstration of Kahn's (1990) principles in action but also additional aspects of focus upon material job resources for which the theory cannot account in an unmoderated format.

Chapter six describes the work's key contribution to theory and practice. The chapter details a model of Kahn's (1990) psychological pre-conditions, moderated by a group of necessary antecedent material preconditions that must be met prior to the fulfilment of the psychological preconditions. In essence this moderated model argues that certain material job resources (sufficient resources/suitable and sufficient equipment/protective equipment) are a necessary precursor to the fulfilment of the psychological pre-conditions of safety and availability. The chapter also identifies the key police cultural findings including some support for aspects of traditional culture, but some notable changes. Significantly the pace of change since the last major UK police ethnographic work (Loftus, 2009) has increased due to the confluence of fiscal pressure, structural reform and the politicisation of policing agendas.

Chapter seven concludes the work identifying the major contributions to theory and practice, the limitations of the study and suggestions for further research. Chapter eight details the author's professional development whilst the appendices provide background material to the study.

## 2.0 - The history of the employee engagement debate

In their introduction to the UK Government sponsored report on employee engagement Macleod and Clarke (2013) make the claim that, if more widely understood, employee engagement could be the key to unlocking enhanced workplace performance and employee well-being. Despite these bold claims the concept remains contentious alongside well established constructs of organisational commitment, job satisfaction, involvement, work flow, extra role and organisational citizenship behaviours (Arrowsmith and Parker, 2013, p. 2695). Purcell (2014, p. 241-2) points to problems not just of definition but also of implications for employment relations and Human Resource Management. Despite lacking clarity there is recognition (Maslach, Schaufeli, and Leiter, 2001, p. 416) of engagement as a development in positive state psychology and as a construct distinct from theories of commitment, satisfaction and involvement. Schaufeli (2014, p. 18-19) points to organisational consultants as having created the overlap with constructs of job satisfaction, organisational commitment and extra-role behaviour, ultimately stating that the important issue for engagement is “where to draw the line” when delineating it from other positive psychology constructs. Even the term ‘employee engagement’ is disputed between academics and HR professionals alike, there being preferences for personal engagement (Kahn, 1990), burnout-engagement (Maslach et al. (2001), work engagement (Schaufeli and Bakker, 2004), employee engagement (Macey et al., 2009) and lastly Job Demands-Resources (Demerouti et al., 2001). This has led to commentators describing the construct as “slippery” (Schaufeli, Salanova, 2011, p. 39), “lacking of consistency in definition” (Shuck and Reio, 2011, p. 420), and exhibiting “indistinctness” (Schaufeli, 2014, p.15). Yet the “lack of consistent definition has not precluded wide discussion of performance benefits” (Yalabik et al., 2013, p. 2799) and outcomes (Wollard and Shuck, 2011, p. 430, Shuck and Reio 2011, p. 42) with employee engagement having become a central tenet within many organisational strategies, it being overwhelmingly regarded as a positive concept associated with “organisational success and individual well-being” (Alfes et al., 2010, p. 4). As Schaufeli (2014, p. 18) recognises it is perhaps this organisational focus and drive for immediately deployable HRM initiatives which is partially to blame for its lacking conceptual clarity.

This chapter analyses that debate, charting the conceptual emergence as part of the positive psychology movement, delineating the construct from other related theories (satisfaction/commitment) focusing on those which stand greater scrutiny, and crucially the necessary preconditions for a climate of engagement as proposed by Kahn (1990) within the context of UK policing. The chapter describes the ebb and flow between consultant and academic in finding a concept which both influences organisational behaviour and exhibits theoretic coherence. The chapter also explores engagement related constructs that are of

particular relevance to the police setting (gender and diversity/HRM management) and a recent theoretical model developed by Saks and Gruman (2014) which seeks to reconcile personal engagement with job demands-resources in a manner which appears relevant to UK policing. This chapter provides the engagement foundation stone upon which this thesis is based, providing a rationale for why Kahn's (1990) model is preferred above other engagement theorists as a basis for application in the policing context. The belief in the superiority of Kahn's (1990) model as expressed here provides the theoretical frame for the research. Finally the chapter signals what to expect within the observational data, suggesting that models of engagement climate, as suggested by Kahn (1990), alongside a focus on job demands, should be anticipated in the police context.

### **2.0.1 – Personal engagement and disengagement**

Kahn (1990) was “one of the first to theorise on the subject” (Lu et al., 2013, p. 142) and is in reality the seminal author in the study of engagement, yet twenty-five years have elapsed since his original work, during which time the subject has been moulded and fractured. Kahn (1990) was influenced by a range of disciplines, including applied and clinical psychology, sociology, organisational behaviour and management. Kahn (1990, p. 692) saw an individual's work role as a vessel occupied to a lesser or greater extent during in-role performance. The concept of flux in the degree of psychological presence an individual commits to a role task was one Kahn (1990) identified as being overlooked. He described how previous theories assumed individuals maintained a static level of presence much as if “posing in still photographs” (Kahn, 1990, p. 693). Kahn drew inspiration from Goffman (1961) in his suggestion of variation in these levels of attachment to role. This idea formed one of the guiding theoretical principles during Kahn's (1990) research and is one in which later commentators have found value (Christian, Garza, and Slaughter, 2011, p. 91).

Kahn (1990) conducted ethnographic research within two purposefully different environments. Within the first environment (a US summer camp) he adopted a more immersive stance fulfilling a role of both participant and observer, whilst in the second environment (an architectural firm) he remained more detached as an outside researcher. In the interim period between the two phases of field work Kahn (1990) conducted initial analysis of the camp data. He searched for embryonic theories which he subsequently used as a theoretical frame for his observations in the architectural firm, before lastly returning to the entire data set following completion of all observations.

Kahn provided the first academic engagement definition, conceptualising personal engagement; “as the harnessing of organization members' selves to their work roles; in engagement people employ and express themselves physically, cognitively and emotionally



during role performances. I identified personal disengagement as the uncoupling of selves from work roles; in disengagement people withdraw and defend themselves physically, cognitively, or emotionally during role performances” (1990, p. 694). Kahn (1990, p. 700) effectively describes congruence between individual and role during instances of engagement describing physical involvement, cognitive vigilance and empathy with co-workers engendering creativity, freedom of expression and interconnection between individuals. In demonstrating these factors Kahn (1990, p. 700) describes a scuba diving instructor who expressed physical engagement (“darting about checking gear and leading the dive”), cognitive vigilance (“awareness of divers, weather and marine life”) and emotional interaction (“empathising with the fear and excitement of the young divers”). The physical dimension of Kahn’s (1990) model has been described as the “physical energies employed by individuals to accomplish their roles” (May, Gilson, and Harter, 2004, p. 13). The physical dimension is “likely to be of most interest to employers” (Viljevac, Cooper-Thomas, and Saks, 2012, p. 3705) because physical acts achieve observable work results. Cognitive engagement has been linked with the concept of flow (May et al. 2004, p. 12), namely having a narrowed attention to specific stimuli and a loss of consciousness outside of the activity. Rothbard (2001, p. 656) described it as referring to cognitive availability and time thinking about a task, whilst Ho, Wong and Lee (2011, p. 31) commented that it is a “relatively stable cognitive state where an employee is psychologically present and focused on the job”. Emotional engagement has been described as the fulfilment of the “human spirit at work” and requiring the “active use of emotions and behaviours” (May, et al. 2004, p. 12).

Crucially, however, personal engagement (Kahn, 1990, p. 719) is the simultaneous coming together of all these three constructs in a hierarchy representing deeper levels of engagement, beginning with physical, then cognitive and lastly emotional dimensions into a state of psychological presence. “Psychological presence is defined here as the experiential state that accompanies engaging behaviours” (Kahn, 1992, p. 322). “Rather than the summation of the various energies that can be brought to role, engagement reflects their commonality, a common cause of the investment of the various energises” (Rich, Lepine, Crawford, 2010, p. 619). Kahn describes this feature of simultaneous investment stating:

Yet engagement is not simply working hard. It is not simply about the vigour with which people work, their high levels of involvement. It is about putting ourselves - our real selves - into work. This begins but does not end with effort.

(Kahn, 2010, p. 21)

Thus, Kahn and Heaphy (2014, p. 83) state that the “nomenclature is important; it signals that the core of engagement is the individual as a person rather than as a worker or employee” in the interweaving of physical, cognitive and emotional facets of engagement. The hierarchical relationship between physical, cognitive and emotional engagement (Viljevac, Cooper-Thomas, and Saks, 2012, p. 3693), the pinnacle of which is a state of psychological presence (Kahn 1992), is also important. The similarity between a hierarchy in Kahn’s work and Maslow’s (1970) hierarchy of needs has been identified by later commentators (Shuck, Rocco, and Albornoz, 2011, p. 303) and provides a useful theoretical link between Kahn’s (1990) central concept and the antecedent states which he identified as necessary pre-conditions.

Kahn (1990) defined personal disengagement as the antithesis of personal engagement along a single continuum, disengagement representing the removal of “internal energies from physical, cognitive and emotional labours” (1990, p. 701). This continuum becomes particularly important when considering later engagement theorists who posit alternate constructs at opposing poles. Essentially personal disengagement describes a lack of congruence between the preferred self and the task. Kahn (1990, p. 702) describes how people in such states become physically withdrawn, cognitively uninterested and emotionally reticent, concealing personal opinions, lacking creativity and withdrawing from interpersonal contact. Within the architectural firm Kahn (1990, p. 702) reported an individual who withdrew physically by “farming out non-management tasks to others”, cognitively by “adopting an automatic, perfunctory approach” and emotionally by “not empathising with confused draftspersons and an upset client”.

Drawing from his 1990 doctrine Kahn (1992, p. 322) developed his theory, looking at the experiential quality of being personally engaged and the sense of psychological presence necessary for an individual to channel their physical, cognitive and emotional energies. In essence the development seeks to deepen the understanding of what it is to be engaged. The theory identifies four dimensions of psychological presence, attentiveness, connection, integration and focus (Kahn, 1992, p. 325-327) which effectively mediate between the psychological preconditions of meaningfulness, safety and availability and the level of personal engagement. Notably Kahn (1990, 1992) did not develop his own quantitatively verifiable research instrument, his work being ethnographic. Through the ensuing years this methodology has proved to be both a strength in the richness of data it provided, but has also perhaps lessened other academics’ focus on the constructs, preferring those theories

that have developed quantitative instruments, such as the Utrecht Work Engagement Scale, Maslach Burnout Inventory, and Q12.<sup>1</sup>

Rothbard (2001, p. 655-657) examined engagement as a model mediating work and family roles and the levels of depletion and enrichment individuals draw from one sphere of their lives to the other. Rothbard developed a construct of engagement drawing on Kahn's (1992) concept of psychological presence as constituting cognitive availability and absorption as a distortion of Kahn's original factors of physical, cognitive and emotional engagement. In so doing Rothbard (2001, p. 677) interestingly identified gender differences between the depletion and enrichment individuals drew from one sphere of their lives to the other. The contribution to the theory of engagement was less significant, albeit Rothbard's (2001, p. 656) labels of attention and absorption were harnessed by work engagement theorists.

May, Gilson and Harter (2004, p. 13) were the first to quantitatively test Kahn's (1990, 1992) theory, developing a Likert scale questionnaire. Their study tested the determinant and mediating relationship between the pre-conditions of psychological meaningfulness, safety and availability with personal engagement. The study concluded that "all three conditions are important in determining one's engagement at work" (May et al., 2004, p. 30) and provided strong and valuable quantitative verification of Kahn's (1990, 1992) earlier qualitative work. The research instrument produced by May et al. (2004) has not been widely used, yet remains an important means of operationalising Kahn's (1990, 1992) theory.

Rich, Lepine and Crawford (2010, p. 623) examined the mediating relationship of personal engagement between three antecedents, value congruence, perceived organisational support and core self-evaluations with consequences of task performance and organisational citizenship behaviour. In essence Rich et al's (2010, p. 621) antecedent states are simply sub-factors within Kahn's (1990) original psychological pre-conditions of meaningfulness (value congruence), safety (perceived organisational support) and availability (core self-evaluations). The study found that engagement effectively mediated the relationship between antecedents and outcomes (Rich et al., 2010, p. 628) and ultimately concluded that the results "strongly supported a theoretical model grounded in the work of Kahn (1990)" (Rich et al., 2010, p. 631).

Most recently Shuck et al. (2011, p. 303) have developed Kahn's (1990, p. 719) concluding comments, offering insight into the relative hierarchy of the physical, cognitive and emotional factors of personal engagement into a theoretical framework. The study is particularly interesting as it makes specific claim to being the first qualitative study of engagement since

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<sup>1</sup> UWES, MBI, Q12 – All quantitative research instruments aligned to schools of engagement practice.

Kahn (1990) and in so doing ascribes value to the original methods. Using case study research, Shuck et al. (2011, p. 304) examined the subjective experience of being engaged from the perspective of the employee and found the blend of phenomenological connection with the subject and objective application of theory allowed by the case study to be advantageous to their work. Drawing heavily from Kahn's (1990) original construct, Shuck et al. (2011, p. 315) develop the scaffolding of a model of engagement and disengagement mediated by internal and external person characteristics and tangible and intangible environmental elements. The work is of value in its focus on the experience of the employee and its commentary on the implications for organisational development.

### **2.0.2 – Burnout antithesis**

Maslach, Schaufeli and Leiter (2001, p. 416) position engagement as a development of positive psychology in a field dominated by negative state research. They posit engagement and burnout at opposite ends of a continuum mediated by the dimensions of energy-exhaustion, involvement-cynicism and efficacy. Maslach, Schaufeli, and Leiter's (2001) work rests on an operationalised burnout instrument, the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) (Maslach and Leiter, 1997, Maslach and Jackson, 1981) which has been used in a wide range of empirical studies of burnout. Their work is important, because like Kahn (1990,1992), they recognise that engagement is a construct distinct in its own right from previous psychological theories such as organisational commitment, job satisfaction and job involvement (Maslach et al., 2001, p. 416). Maslach et al. (2001, p. 414) identify six areas of work life that mediate the relationship with burnout and argue that burnout "arises from chronic mismatches between people and their work setting in terms of some or all of these six areas". Those six areas are workload, control, reward, community, fairness, and values (Maslach et al., 2001, p. 414-415). Diagrammatically the theory can be expressed as in figure 1.

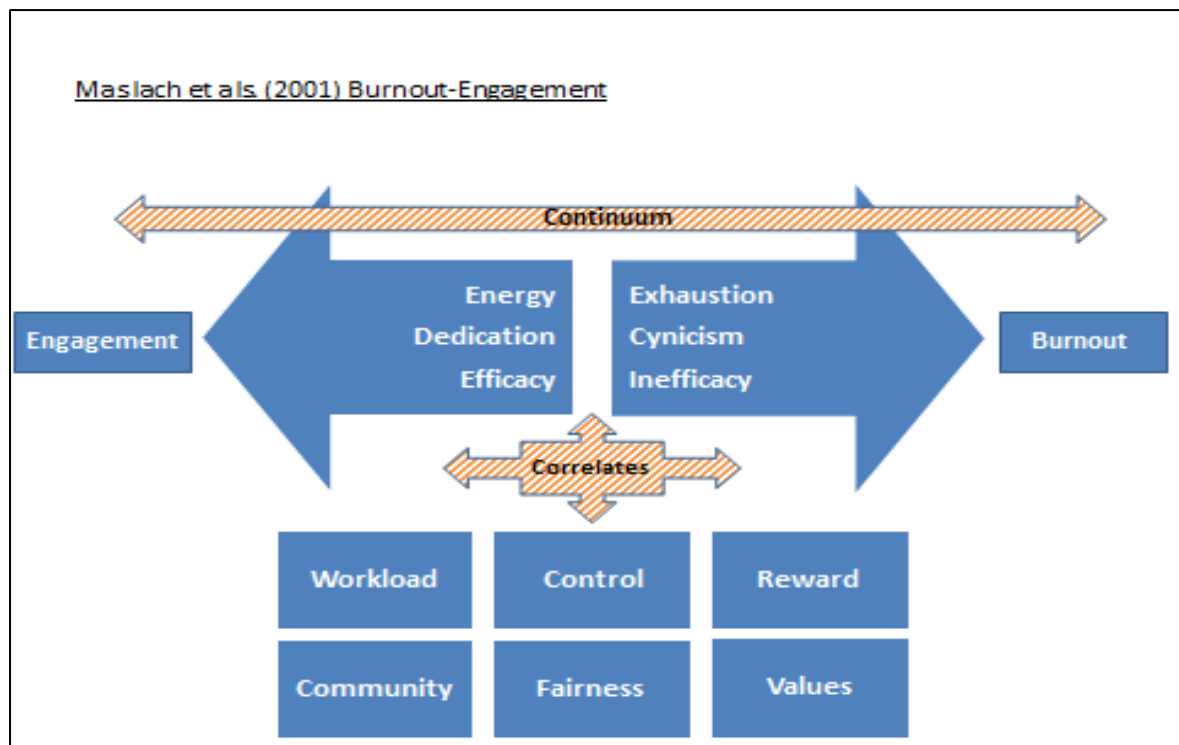


Figure 1 – Maslach et al.'s (2001) Burnout-Engagement.

Support was soon eroded from the conceptualisation of engagement and burnout as opposite ends of the same continuum. Schaufeli (one of the proponents of the theory in 2001) conducted research with Bakker in 2004 showing that “burnout and engagement scales loaded on two separate, moderately negatively correlating dimensions” (Bakker and Schaufeli, 2004, p. 308). Most commentators now conclude that a “perfectly inverse relationship of burnout and engagement is not feasible” (Schaufeli and Salanova, 2011, p. 41) that “it is crucial not to mix up engagement and burnout measures for conceptual and empirical reasons” (Sonnetag, 2011, p. 30) and that “in a practical and theoretical sense it is important to differentiate the energy and identification continua of burnout and work engagement” (Makikangas et al., 2011, p. 113). In 2011 Maslach failed to satisfactorily answer challenges levelled against her theory, simply concluding “that more work needs to be done” (Maslach, 2011, p. 49). The most recent work still hints at the continuum suggesting the burnout construct has provided a “foundation for continuing explorations of psychological connections of people with their work from both positive and negative perspectives”. (Maslach, Leiter, Jackson, 2012, p. 299). Whilst there is certainly value in the burnout construct, its relationship with engagement has been widely discredited and as such it is of lesser future value to engagement theorists.

### 2.0.3 – Work Engagement

Whilst the inverse relationship of burnout and engagement is widely discredited, it is the initiation point for work engagement and there is considerable cross fertilisation between authors in both fields. Perhaps the most frequently cited definition of work engagement is Schaufeli and Bakker's (2004, p. 295, see also Schaufeli, Salanova, Gonzalez-Roma and Bakker 2002) who describe a "positive, fulfilling, work-related state of mind that is characterised by vigour, dedication and absorption". Importantly and differently from Kahn (1990) who identified how levels of engagement could alter according to the fit between the individual and the dynamic characteristics of the work role/task, work engagement refers to a more "persistent and pervasive affective-cognitive state" (Schaufeli and Bakker, 2010, p. 13). This is a concept to which Kahn returns in his later work repeating a belief that rather than labelling "workers as 'motivated' or not, these movements into or out of role performances could change a great deal as various conditions shifted" (Kahn, 2010, p. 20). This issue becomes an important battleground between the two theories. Work engagement exists along three continuums labelled energy, identification and absorption, the poles of which (vigour, dedication and absorption) define work engagement. Burnout shares two of those continuums (energy and identification). In essence the defining feature of work engagement relative to burnout is the continuum labelled absorption and the defining feature of burnout relative to work engagement is the continuum labelled professional efficacy. This can be observed diagrammatically in figure 2.

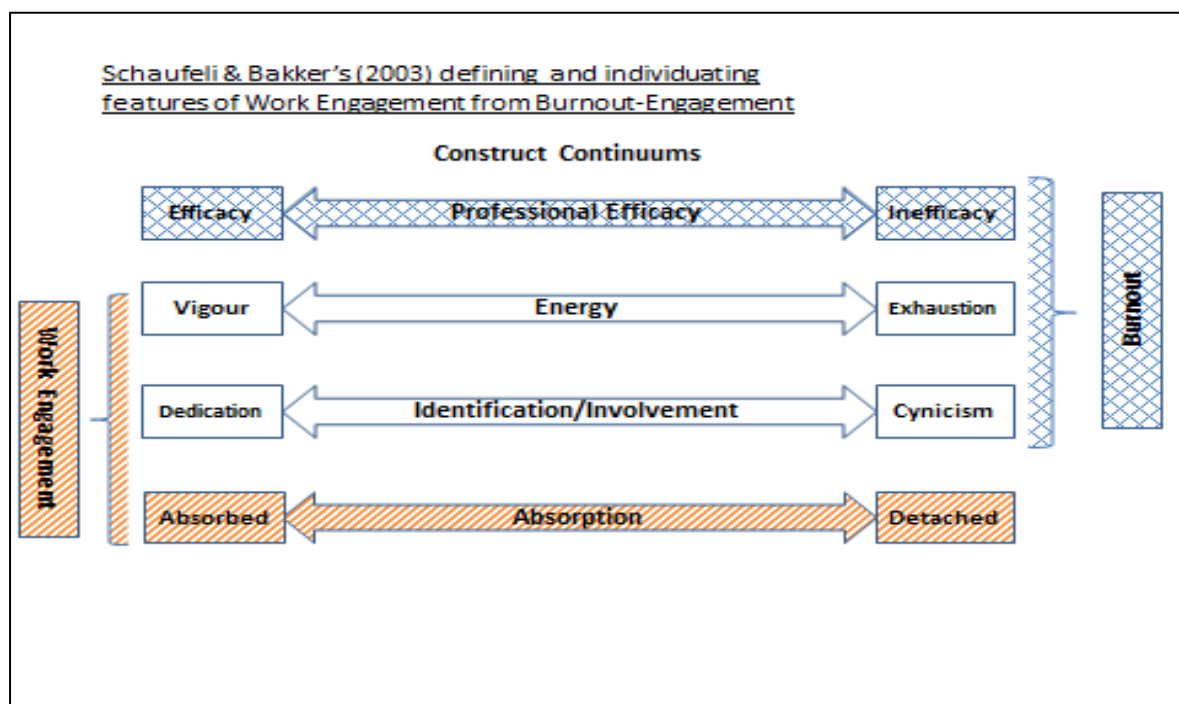


Figure 2 – Defining and individuating features of work and burnout engagement

In Figure 2 those sections shaded by diamonds represent a dimension (efficacy) which is solely burnout, the sections shaded by diagonal lines represent a dimension (absorption) which is solely work engagement and non-shaded sections in the middle represent dimensions (energy and involvement) shared by both the burnout and engagement constructs.

An important development of work engagement was the formulation of a self-report questionnaire titled the Utrecht Work Engagement Scale (UWES) by Schaufeli and Bakker (2003). This instrument provided an accessible operational instrument for organisations to assess levels of work engagement amongst their employees. It also became an important research instrument for scholars looking to identify antecedent states and consequences of work engagement and for a period of time brought a temporary level of consensus to the question of definition of work engagement.

Using both the UWES and MBI Bakker and Schaufeli (2004, p. 308) successfully demonstrated that burnout and work engagement “do not merge into one single dimension”. Striving to make the instrument more accessible Schaufeli, Bakker and Salanova (2006, p. 712) successfully shortened the questionnaire from seventeen to nine items, commenting on the suitability of the shorter tool to provide a single composite engagement score. During this period of relative consensus a number of studies both sought to validate the UWES and also use it to examine various antecedent or consequential states. Salanova, Agut and Peiro (2005, p. 1222) examined the mediating relationship of service climate between job resources work engagement and outcomes of employee performance and customer loyalty. Sonnentag, Mojza, Binnewies and Scholl (2008, p. 257) considered the relationships between engagement at work and detachment at home, whilst Xanthopoulou, Bakker, Demerouti and Schaufeli (2009, p.183) investigated the mediating effect of work engagement between personal and job resources and financial returns. All of these studies shared both reliance on the UWES and a methodology rooted in quantitative statistics including linear and structural equation modelling. It is perhaps this combination of reliance on the UWES and the methodological similarities that led towards criticism of work engagement having developed an “operational rather than conceptual definition” (Schaufeli and Salanova, 2011, p. 40) and led commentators away from the construct.

Bakker, Schaufeli, Leiter and Taris (2008, p. 196) began to question the three dimensional construct of energy, identification and absorption and in particular the absorption element. Schaufeli and Bakker (2010, p. 21) described work engagement as a conceptually coherent construct comprising of vigour, dedication and absorption within a wider integrative model with work engagement, job involvement and job satisfaction mediating the relationship

between antecedent states and outcomes. This was closely followed by Bakker, Albrecht and Leiter (2011a, p. 9) who return to Bakker et al's (2008) assertion that work engagement comprises of two core dimensions, energy and identification and then later in the same year and indeed the same special edition of the *European Journal of Work and Organisational Psychology*, position work engagement in a circumplex model of affective well-being (Bakker, Albrecht and Leiter, 2011b, p. 75). In some of the most recent work from this group of scholars Bakker (2011, p. 268) appears to renew favour to the three dimensional construct whilst intriguingly referring to the Kahn-esque (1990) concept of engaged employees being "physically, cognitively and emotionally connected with their roles". Saks and Gruman (2014, p. 165) comment that "the validity of the UWES as a measure of engagement has been and continues to be debated. Some have called into question the construct validity". Purcell (2014, p. 245) is scathing regarding work engagement highlighting that the measures of work engagement distort responses to paint a positive picture, and that attempts to link work engagement with organisational outcomes are not convincing. Purcell (2014, p. 251) ultimately concludes that "it is best just to ignore work engagement and disengage from it". In summary the concept of work engagement rests on a deep body of empirical evidence centred on the UWES research instrument. Whilst this helped develop a period of relative consensus, contemporary thinking appears divided as to what does and does not constitute work engagement. Whilst there is reasonable solidity in thinking around the energy and identification dimensions and on the individuation of work engagement as a unique concept from older psychological constructs such as organisational commitment there still remains work to be done to properly define the construct integrity.

#### **2.0.4 – Employee Engagement**

Saks and Gruman (2014, p. 155) describe an explosion in organisational, consultant and academic interest in employee engagement. Reflecting on a climate of lacking public trust in the face of banking and political scandals ACAS (2012) describe the linkage between trust and employee engagement, a link of value in the light of contemporary policing challenges such as the "Plebgate" affair.<sup>2</sup> Drawing on earlier iterations of MacLeod and Clarke's (2013) work ACAS (2012) suggest that building employee trust in leadership is a key organisational objective and lay out steps to achieving engagement. Arguably whilst there is invigorated broad interest in employee engagement in response to both austerity and reputational challenge it remains a term most closely associated with management practice, consultancy and organisational development as opposed to academic research. Defining the theoretical construct which has initiated such interest is challenging.

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<sup>2</sup> The Plebgate affair is a colloquial term for the investigation surrounding police collusion following the alleged use of the word "pleb" towards officers by a then Tory Cabinet Minister in September 2012 at Westminster.



A leading organisational contender in this quest is the Q12, a survey instrument comprising of 12 items developed by the Gallup Corporation. The Q12 is designed to measure employee satisfaction and employee engagement conditions. In effect the tool has become the definition of employee engagement as implicitly recognised by researchers employed by Gallup using the tool who comment that “the focus of this report is on employee engagement, as measured by statements Q01-Q12” (Harter, Schmidt, Killham, and Agrawal, 2009, p. 9). Commentators argue, however, that “Gallup’s employee engagement concept is virtually identical with job satisfaction” (Schaufeli and Bakker, 2010, p. 16). Additionally the Q12 refers to work conditions, not the performance of work tasks and as such is not a true measure of engagement (Christian, Garza, and Slaughter, 2011, p. 91). Simpson (2009, p. 1021) points to the conceptual overlap within the survey between factors that precede the construct supposedly under measurement highlighting that such overlap limits our understanding of the construct. Whilst the tool is grounded in high volume worldwide data it is of less value as a meaningful measure or definition of employee engagement as it fails to consider concepts outside of satisfaction, does not deal with the work task and focuses upon the performance outcomes which might be gleaned by an organisation striving to drive up employee satisfaction.

Macey et al. (2009, p. 7) offer the definition of employee engagement as “an individual’s sense of purpose and focused energy evident to others in the display of personal initiative, adaptability, effort and persistence directed toward organisational goals”. Within the entire book there seems very little rationale for the development of this construct which, in common with the Q12, appears to show strong resemblance with satisfaction. Indeed in his review of the book Walk (2012, p. 209) comments on how Macey et al. (2009) have struggled to distinguish engagement from other constructs, the evidence still pointing towards satisfaction. In searching for the source of Macey et al’s (2009) conceptual clarity it is worth going back to Macey and Schneider’s (2008, p. 6) earlier framework in which they define employee engagement as comprising psychological trait, state and behavioural elements. Under these umbrella terms Macey and Schneider (2008, p. 6) group a large number of concepts:

<b>Trait Engagement:</b>	<b>State Engagement</b>	<b>Behavioural Engagement</b>
Proactive personality	Satisfaction	Organisational citizenship behaviour
Autotelic personality	Involvement	Proactive initiative
Trait positive effect	Commitment	Role expansion
Conscientiousness	Empowerment	Adaptive

Saks (2008, p. 42) heavily criticised Macey and Schneider's work commenting that "by defining engagement as a multidimensional aggregate concept comprising older and more developed constructs, Macey and Schneider have ended up exactly where they began – an imprecise definition and a repackaging of other constructs". Saks' (2008) view is also supported by Schaufeli and Bakker (2010, p. 20) who similarly criticise Macey and Schneider (2008) and as such this umbrella usage of employee engagement can be seen to be widely discredited.

The last, and arguably most credible, employee engagement theory which is worth considering is that emanating from Kingston University and sponsored by the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development (CIPD). Alfes et al. (2010, p. 5) define employee engagement as "being positively present during the performance of work by willingly contributing intellectual effort, experiencing positive emotions and meaningful connections to others". Alfes et al. (2010, p. 5) see engagement as comprising three core facets, intellectual, affective and social engagement. It is no coincidence that this theory resonates strongly with Kahn's (1990) theories of physical, cognitive and emotional engagement and sense of psychological presence during in role behaviours as Alfes et al. (2010, p. 5) cite Kahn (1990) as a major influence upon their work. The theoretical construct is grounded in a large volume of data (5291 survey respondents) including surveys, interviews, focus groups and case studies and would appear to have strong theoretical roots. Their belief in an employee engagement construct continues in later work (Alfes et al., 2013, p. 843), differentiated from job satisfaction by activation, from commitment in its attentiveness and absorption in its performance. Yet whilst arguing for their theory as a unique delineated distinct theory, members of the group (Truss et al., 2013, p. 2660) have recently criticised the "bending of engagement to the policy, professional, consultancy and managerialist agendas", a claim which seems difficult to reconcile with their earlier leading work on behalf of the professional body the CIPD. Truss et al. (2013) are, however, not wrong to highlight conceptual issues in organisational applications. Whilst Truss is herself quoted within the policy oriented work advocated by MacLeod and Clarke (2013), this highly influential report glosses over both conceptual and measurement issues, even advocating the Q12 as a potential measurement of engagement. However, Alfes et al's (2010) theory gains much strength by resting on Kahn's (1990) work a factor which coincides with this research's ultimate conclusions.

### **2.0.5 – Job Demands-Resource (JD-R)**

The Job Demands-Resource model (Demerouti et al., 2001) has its heritage in both work engagement and burnout-antithesis theories. The basic premise of this theory is that relative

blends of job demands (physical workload, time pressure, recipient contact, physical environment, shift work) with job resources (feedback, rewards, job control, participation, job security, supervisor support) lead to relative feelings of exhaustion and disengagement. The theory was originally stated as the Job Demands-Resource (JD-R) model of burnout (Demerouti et al., 2001, p. 502) and as such the convergence of feelings of simultaneous disengagement and exhaustion was equated to a state of burnout. Simply put, job resources can be thought of as the main drivers for engagement, whilst job demands may be perceived as the main cause of burnout (Bakker, Demerouti, Sanz-Vergel, 2014, p. 399). One of the perceived strengths of the theory is that the two general categories may be “applied to various occupational settings irrespective of the particular demands and resources involved” (Demerouti and Bakker, 2011, p. 2) which may be of particular relevance to a highly specialised environment such as policing. Indeed in a study of Australian nurses and police officers JD-R was effectively used to suggest that an improvement in the quality of social exchanges could help increase job resources and consequent labour retention (Brunetto et al., 2014, p. 2359).

Whilst in simple form job resources equal engagement and job demands equal burnout, this is not quite true as job resources mediate the relationship between job demands and burnout such that “job resources supply strategies for coping with stress” (Bakker et al., 2007, p. 280) and that a state of engagement may be maintained. In essence simultaneous high job demands and high job resources result in high engagement, not burnout because the job resources are able to negate the effects of high job demands. Not all job demands are the same. Commentators differentiate between challenging and hindering job demands. Challenge demands are viewed as obstacles to be overcome, whilst hindering demands limit personal growth and goal attainment (Bakker and Sanz-Vergel, 2013, p. 398). It is, therefore, the presence of hindering job demands and lacking job resources which lead to burnout and challenging job demands and job resources which lead to engagement.

The model has been contextualised in a number of ways which may be relevant to a police setting. In relation to shift work, the model has been used to show a positive upward spiral between job demands, job resources and recovery opportunities whereby a recovery opportunity is a process of “psycho-physiological unwinding” (Rodriguez-Munoz et al., 2012, p. 86-87). This suggests that the period of recovery between work phases may be of particular importance to people preparing for the stresses of the day ahead. Akkermans et al. (2013, p. 365) conclude that “creating opportunities for professional development can have a positive effect on well-being and motivation by itself”, the implications for austerity in policing obviously being the reverse. Lastly in respect of a changing set of terms and conditions for new entrants and existing officers alike, Rayton and Yalabik (2014, p. 2392)

conclude that “work engagement is offered by employees in return for delivery of perceived organisational obligations”, the implication being a potential threat to police engagement in light of changing contractual arrangements.

### 2.1.1 – Kahn’s (1990) model of psychological preconditions

Of the theories examined so far, it is only Kahn’s which integrates both a core definition of what engagement is and also the antecedent conditions necessary for engagement to occur, or in other words the ‘climate’ for engagement. Kahn (1990) does this through the identification of psychological meaningfulness, safety and availability as the three psychological conditions which must be met for people to personally engage, and the absence of which influence an individual to disengage. Kahn (1990, p. 703) envisaged a hypothetical contract between individual and role and the conditions which at any given time had to be fulfilled in order to allow the individual to fully commit. Writing later Kahn and Heaphy (2014, p. 83) comment that people in organisations ask themselves three unconscious questions in each situation before engaging or not, those questions being “(1) How safe is to do so?; (2) How meaningful is it for me to bring myself into this role performance ; (3) How available am I to do so?”. His model can be expressed diagrammatically in figure 3.

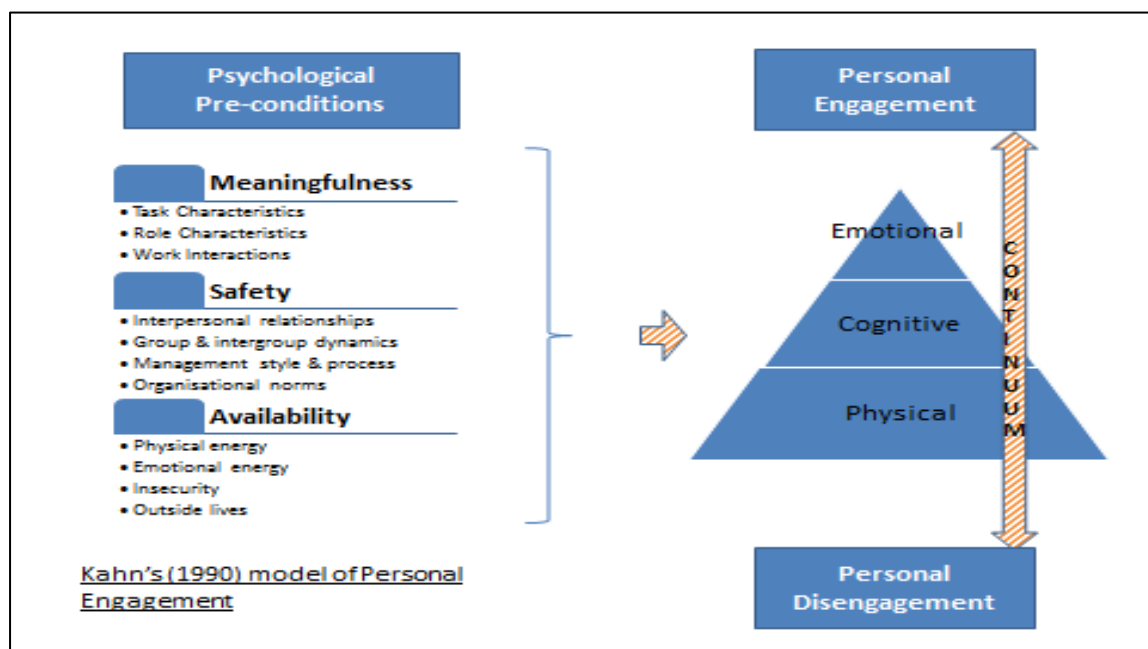


Figure 3 – Kahn’s (1990) model of personal engagement

Figure 3 is not intended to ascribe a specific link between individual pre-conditions and the individual factors of engagement, as there is nothing in Kahn’s (1990) text to ascribe those links. Whilst not having fully explored a hierarchical relationship Kahn (1990, 719) does

suggest his belief in such a relationship and such a view is supported by later literature (Shuck, Rocco, Alborno, 2011, p. 303,) hence the validity of this diagram.

### **2.1.2 – Psychological Safety**

“Psychological safety was experienced as feeling able to show and employ one’s self without fear of negative consequence to self-image, status, or career” (Kahn, 1990, p. 708). Kahn (1990, p. 708) used descriptive statistics to show a link between personal engagement and psychological safety. He also identified four factors most closely influential upon safety, namely “interpersonal relationships, group and intergroup dynamics, management style and process and organisational norms” (Kahn, 1990, p. 708). Interpersonal relationships which fostered psychological safety were those which were “supportive and trusting” and that “allowed people to try and perhaps fail without fearing the consequences” (Kahn, 1990, p. 708). Group and inter group dynamics were those unacknowledged or unconscious roles which people play within a social construct and essentially reflect power within an overall group. Kahn (1990, p. 711) found that “supportive, resilient and clarifying management heightened psychological safety”. Processes and managerial stances which provided people with an opportunity to try and fail without fear heightened psychological safety, whilst approaches which held control tight into the leader heightened mistrust (Kahn, 1990, p. 711). Lastly greater psychological safety was associated with role performances which fell within the boundaries of the normal behaviours and expectations of the system members (Kahn, 1990, p. 712). Kahn (1990, p. 713) identified that significant stress was involved in attempting to deviate from the norms of a social system, particularly if the individual trying to deviate had relatively low authority and standing in the hierarchy. In summary psychological safety can be seen as a somewhat complex construct essentially connected with relative power and authority within a social system and the level and nature of support within that system.

In JD-R terms a climate of psychological safety may be perceived as a job resource. Related to a policing context in which manifestations of culture have been traditionally described as “essentially negative” (Cockcroft, 2013, p. 46), psychological safety climate may be perceived as an important organisational medicine. In the JD-R literature psychological safety has been seen to predict workplace bullying, psychological health and engagement (Law et al, 2011, p. 1782) and to mediate the effects of job demands on depression and organisational behaviours (Hall et al., 2012, p. 355) suggesting indeed that psychological safety may be an important psychological pre-condition to engagement in a policing context.

### **2.1.3 – Psychological Availability**

“Psychological availability is the sense of having the physical, emotional or psychological resources to personally engage at a particular moment” (Kahn, 1990, p. 714). Using descriptive statistics Kahn (1990, p. 714) showed the link between psychological availability and personal engagement, indicating that depleted availability was influenced by four major factors: physical energy, emotional energy, insecurity and outside lives. Physical energy is relatively straightforward, its depletion being recognised in the study through long hours in hot sun, or long hours behind a drafting table. Emotional energy referred to a measure of emotional capital necessary to absorb the stresses and strains of the task. In common with elements of psychological safety insecurity referred to the level of security one feels about work and status. Concepts of insecurity were linked to feelings of greater self-consciousness, whereby a preoccupation with others’ opinions of self, prevented an individual in full role engagement (Kahn, 1990, p. 716). Lastly, ambivalence regarding one’s fit with the organisation and its purpose could distract necessary attention from role performance. Outside life also had a perceived impact on availability, with Kahn (1990, p. 716-717) recognising both the energising and depleting impact personal circumstances could have on role behaviour. More recently, Kahn and Heaphy (2014, p. 89) emphasised the energising and enervating of the relational dimension of availability, namely the manifestation of the above four factors when related to the development of relationships in the work setting. In essence availability is a mixed construct which identifies unique features such as physical energy, but also ‘shares’ some ground with psychological safety factors.

In the organisational context an obvious implication for policing, related to shift work and the physicality of the role, is physical tiredness. This has been recently investigated by Nagel and Sonnentag (2013, p. 362) who conclude that “daily exercise after work and sleep during the night time interact, and, furthermore, predict personal resources on the next working day”. Whilst Nagel and Sonnentag (2013) did not account for shift workers in their study the implication of work factors which may restrict officers from recreational activities such as exercise are clear.

### **2.1.4 – Psychological Meaningfulness**

“Psychological meaningfulness can be seen as a feeling that one is receiving a return on investments of one’s self” (Kahn, 1990, p. 703). Using descriptive statistics Kahn (1990, p. 704) reasoned that greater meaningfulness was linked to engagement and lesser meaningfulness to disengagement. Kahn (1990, p. 704) indicated that three factors influenced individuals’ perception of meaningfulness: “task characteristics, role characteristics, and work interactions”. Task characteristics required for greater

meaningfulness were identified as “challenging, clearly delineated, varied, creative, and somewhat autonomous” (Kahn, 1990, p. 704). Kahn later expanded this explanation saying “people are more likely to disengage when it is not clear what their tasks or authority is, relative to others, and what decisions are theirs to make” (2010, p. 23). Role characteristics required for greater meaningfulness were twofold, firstly organisational identity and the match between individual and the role identity required of them, and secondly the influence or power associated with role. Work interactions which supported a sense of meaningfulness were those which “included rewarding interpersonal interactions with co-workers and clients” which “promoted dignity, self-appreciation, and a sense of worthwhileness” (Kahn, 1990, p. 707). Essentially meaningfulness “allowed people to feel valuable and valued” (Kahn, 1990, p. 708).

Work conducted by Soane et al. (2013) developed the link demonstrated by both Kahn (1990) and May et al. (2004) to show that wellbeing strengthens the relationship (Soane et al., 2013, p. 451) between meaningfulness and engagement. Soane et al. also concluded the importance of “positive working environments for reducing employee absence” (2013, p. 451) which, with reducing finance and human resource in policing, is an important observation.

## **2.2 - Engagement related constructs in policing**

There is some engagement related theory which is not concerned directly with police culture (covered in the following chapter), however, it may still have resonance in a policing context. The three areas which will be examined here are public service motivation, gender and diversity and engagement within strategic human resource management.

### **2.2.1 – Public Service Motivation**

Perry and Wise (1990, p. 367) are often quoted as persuasive in the emergence of a theory of public service motivation (PSM) defining it as “an individual's predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organisation”. The relevance of this theory in policing and its link with Kahn’s (1990) construct of meaningfulness as a psychological precondition is clear. Theorists have argued that individuals with high PSM are more “interested in employment in public and non-profit organisations” (Carpenter, Doverspike, and Miguel, 2011, p. 521) suggesting that police officers may well self-select on a PSM basis. Studies have also found that PSM is “a strong predictor of work motivation in the public sector” (Anderfuhren-Biget et al., 2010, p. 232), hence in combination PSM may well relate to police officer motivation to join, underlying predisposition to public sector work and overall work motivation. Such a proposition is supported by Hoggett et al. (2014, p.6)

who draw a link between police organisational identity and organisational citizenship behaviours, arguing that identity affects officer willingness to upwardly transcend their normal work parameters. There are, however, questions over the link between PSM and role performance (Wright and Grant, 2010, p. 694) and the question of measurement and the validation of relationships between PSM and other factors (Moynihan, Vandenabeele, Blom-Hansen, 2013, p. 288-289). Despite the theoretical issues the relevance of PSM to this study is clear.

### **2.2.2 – Gender and Diversity**

As recognised by Truss et al. (2013, p. 2660) there is little research exploring the differences in engagement factors between gender, although some findings have suggested the moderating effect of gender between psychological meaningfulness and engagement (Geldenhuys and Williamson, 2012, p. 535). Truss has also suggested an assumption of a “diversity neutral stance within engagement” (2014, p. 82). The issue is an important area within police cultural studies in which machismo (Reiner, 2010, p. 128) and masculinity (Loftus, 2009, p. 96) form part of the core traditional cultural view.

The UK police service has been the subject of repeated commentary on its racially prejudiced nature. Macpherson (1999) famously cited the Metropolitan Police Service as institutionally racist following the murder of Stephen Lawrence. Rowe (2004, p. 19) commented on developments since Macpherson, concluding that whilst much effort has been invested the aim of improving trust and confidence in policing amongst ethnic communities “has not been fully realised”. Whilst there is more research in the area of ethnic diversity and engagement compared with gender and engagement the material is still relatively immature. Much of the emphasis has come from multi-national corporations seeking strategic human resource models to fit diverse workforces across the globe. Studies have emphasised both the structural and economic nature of a specific society, particularly related to “how employees perceived their level of safety and security” (Kelliher, Hailey, and Farndale, 2014, p. 191). Shimazu, Miyanaka, and Schaufeli (2010, p. 369) also describe how interpretations of metrics used in a western environment do not necessarily entail the same in Eastern countries due to a tendency to suppress the expression of positive effect. Whilst these studies are useful they only seek to explain differences on a trans-national basis not intra-team difference when that team is racially or culturally diverse. Working on the issue of intra-team diversity Singh, Winkel and Selvarjan (2013, p. 258) conclude that, for minority ethnic employees, diversity climate and psychological safety played a more significant role in influencing role performance than it did for white employees. Volpone, Avery and McKay (2012, p. 264) conclude that the link between perceptions of fairness in



staff appraisals and both diversity climate and engagement varied across racio-ethnic groups with stronger effect for “Black and Hispanic employees than for their white colleagues”. Whilst research is relatively scant in this area, diversity climate and perceptions of fairness are of particular relevance to the construct of engagement within diverse teams.

### **2.2.3 – Human Resource Management and Engagement**

Whilst it would be altruistic to suspect organisations of investing in employee engagement purely for the benefits of their employees, engagement is actually perceived as a key issue in driving sustainable organisational performance (Miller et al., 2010, p. 2) and as such strategic HRM practices are the effective organisational output of engagement research. Whilst the subject is wide, three issues appear as being of particular relevance in the policing context. The first is the concept of employee voice which Kahn (2010, p. 22) perceives as at the heart of engagement as the “instrument by which we say what we think and feel, question others, describe options and inventions”. The employee voice literature contends that people prefer to have voice in an organisation because it helps them control organisational outcomes and because people find self-expression rewarding in its own right (Beugre, 2010, p. 175). The relationship between employee voice, trust in senior management and engagement has been researched by Rees, Alfes and Gatenby (2013, p. 2792) who find positive relationships between voice, trust, engagement and line manager-employee relationships. In an organisation like policing, which has been described as exhibiting a culture of cynicism and distrust towards its leaders, or even anti-leadership tendencies (Villiers, 2003, p. 29-31), it is clear how relevant the concept of employee voice and the relationship between it and trust in leadership is.

The second concept is the distinction between the approach taken in embedding employee engagement within an organisation as either transactional or transformational. A transactional approach is commonly applied when an organisation invests in a survey but little else, whilst transformational refers to a much wider strategy and suite of engagement activities. Reddington (2014, p. 27) suggests that “engagement needs to be characterised as transformational – with organisations spending 90 per cent of their engagement effort ‘post survey’ and focusing on building an environment which truly engages people, inspires them to give of their best, and aligns their efforts with the needs of the business”. Villiers (2003, p. 28) comments on police leadership stating it exhibits “an autocratic style, supposedly suited to harsh and immediate demands of war, although in reality it has a great deal to do, we would suggest, with the practices of a mechanistic bureaucracy”. There is a clear line of enquiry in regards how policing has sought to implement engagement practices and how this reflects any observed leadership dynamics.

The last comment regarding strategic HRM is in relation to performance. Multiple studies have investigated the outcomes driven by engagement such as service climate and customer loyalty (Salanova, Agut, Peiro, 2005), in role and extra role behaviours (Chung and Angeline, 2010, p. 1841), financial return (Xanthopoulou et al., 2009, p. 183) and staff retention (de Lange, De Witte, Notelaers, 2008, p. 201). Gruman and Saks (2011, p. 133) develop a model of “the effective application of performance management processes that may foster employee engagement and produce high levels of performance” suggesting that engagement can be a principle at the heart of an organisation’s performance aims. In policing, however, the concept of performance is poorly understood. The current iteration of police performance relates to key statistical indicators such as arrests or stop searches, although such regimes have been “heavily criticised” (Loftus, 2009, p. 102). The point is that when an organisational outcome is clear (profit), then the key performance outcome for an engaged workforce is also clear, but when the organisational objective is less clear then the question of “engagement with what” (Sparrow, 2014, p. 112) is crucial and is where strategic HRM may need to focus in policing.

### **2.3 – Anticipated empirical observations**

Kahn’s (1990) model of personal engagement is preferred above other theories for a number of compelling reasons. The concept of a Burnout-Engagement continuum has been widely discredited, as have both the Gallup Q12 and Macey et al’s (2009) models of employee engagement. Work engagement and Alfes et al’s (2010) employee engagement would appear to be the theories which have developed since Kahn with most academic rigour and it is against those theories which Kahn should be judged.

Taking Kahn’s (1990) core facets of physical, emotional and cognitive engagement one can see clear overlap with elements of work engagement and Alfes et al’s (2010) employee engagement. In respect of physical engagement there is clear similarity with the energy dimension of work engagement. Indeed this energy dimension is the facet of engagement around which there is greatest consensus with “most scholars agreeing that engagement includes an energy dimension” (Bakker and Leiter, 2010, p.182). Alfes et al. (2010) and Kahn (1990) share their belief that an emotional facet makes up one of the three core engagement components. Similarly Kahn’s (1990) cognitive dimension is reflected both in the contribution of intellectual effort (Alfes et al., 2010 p. 5) and the absorption dimension of work engagement which is described as the state of being “immersed and happily engrossed in one’s work” (Schaufeli and Bakker, 2003, p. 5). In summary it is Kahn’s (1990) original construct which forms the thread through these later works. What is clear is that in identifying physical, cognitive and emotional facets of engagement, Kahn (1990) has clearly

differentiated a cohesive set of factors which form the concept of personal engagement and to which later authors (Rich et al. 2010, Soane et al, 2013, Saks and Gruman, 2014) have consistently returned, albeit with differing emphasis and relative inclusion/exclusion. Commentators have explicitly recognised this overlap, stating “it would be fruitful to relate the vigour-dedication-absorption conceptualisation to conceptualisations rooted in the work of Kahn (1990)” (Sonnentag, 2011, p. 31).

Whilst Kahn’s (1990) model has perhaps suffered due to the lack of an operational research instrument, this does not affect the theoretical credibility of the construct. May et al’s (2004) work is the only study which has developed a research instrument based on Kahn’s (1990) work and that instrument has seen little further development. Arguably the accessibility of the UWES and its early take up amongst practitioners and researchers alike has influenced later writers to continually deploy it. There is something of a self-fulfilling prophecy once a critical mass of usage has been achieved. Viljevac, Cooper-Thomas and Saks (2012, p. 3692) recognise the competition between Kahn’s (1990) theory and work engagement as measured by the UWES and have conducted the first empirical comparison of May et al’s (2004) research instrument with the UWES. Notably Viljevac et al. (2012, p. 3694) reflect on difficulties May et al. (2004) had in developing their original twenty four item instrument and their need to refine it to thirteen items in order to achieve reliability. In conclusion Viljevac et al. (2012, p. 3704) argue that some of the conceptual overlaps between the two theories should have shown more convergent validity than was found. They argue that this may indicate that some of the instrument items do not properly cover the constructs as intended. In overall terms Viljevac et al. (2012, p. 3706) found that the UWES demonstrated higher validity than the May et al. (2004) instrument, however, also commented that “neither measure should be considered an adequate measure of work engagement”. Arguably this is a more problematic finding for the UWES as it has undergone decades of confirmatory research and has become a defining feature of work engagement whilst May et al’s (2004) model is almost without development and comparatively fresh. Indeed Saks and Gruman (2014, p. 165) suggest that the “validity of the UWES as a measure has been and continues to be debated”.

Kahn’s (1990) theory is superior to others not only because of its conceptual qualities, but also because of the relative failings of its competition. Not only does Kahn provide a succinct and clear central construct comprising of the three core facets, but also provides broad description of the psychological pre-conditions which must be fulfilled for an individual to achieve full psychological presence. Whilst the core model has tight conceptual clarity the psychological pre-conditions are much wider in their span there being a series of inclusions under each of the three facets of meaningfulness, safety and availability. This construct,

including a tight central definition with a much wider and inclusive set of antecedent preconditions, leaves Kahn's (1990) theory less vulnerable to criticism common to the other constructs. Work engagement suffers from a lack of conceptual clarity primarily because of its developments from its burnout roots and as such discussions as to its core components have never really been solved. Other employee engagement constructs (e.g. Macey and Schneider, 2008) suffer because their construct is too wide without sufficient conceptual clarity, effectively trying to include a variety of similar psychological constructs under one umbrella term. Job Demands-Resource has a similarly wide conceptual reach and is more of a theory of antecedent states than engagement itself. Kahn (1990, 1992) arguably avoids these problems with a central definition that is suitably tight and cohesive, whilst also providing conceptual flex and inclusiveness through a much broader set of psychological preconditions. In essence Kahn (1990, 1992) appears to achieve both simultaneous theoretical clarity, with sufficient antecedent flexibility. The key advantage Kahn (1990) appears to hold over the other theories is the methodology with which it was completed. This has ensured a strong level of data saturation and as such has helped the theory develop not only into one which has a cohesive and well defined central tenet but also a much broader and inclusive set of antecedents. This identifies the theory as superior to its competitors in overall completeness.

### **2.3.1 – Availability, meaningfulness and safety**

In researching the necessary preconditions to a climate of engagement in UK policing and in preference of Kahn's (1990) model of engagement it is anticipated that data exhibiting concerns of safety, availability and meaningfulness will be apparent. It is also apparent that issues of PSM, gender and diversity, leadership, performance and will all play a significant role in the observed data. All of these issues will be observed within the context of policing in austerity which may inflate emphasis on some constructs, particularly related to Job Demands-Resources for which Saks and Gruman (2014) have developed an integrative theory.

### **2.3.2 – An integrative theory of engagement (Saks and Gruman, 2014)**

Saks and Gruman (2014, p. 155) developed a compelling integrative model of engagement which "reconciles and integrates Khan's (1990) theory of engagement and the Job Demands-Resource model". Saks and Gruman (2014, p. 174) prefer Kahn's (1990) model of engagement above others based on its "stronger theoretical rationale" and as such posit it at the centre of their model suggesting the antecedent nature of job demands and resources to Kahn's (1990) psychological preconditions. Saks and Gruman (2014) describe different types of engagement as effective outcomes of the process. The model appears to position a

number of practical leadership/follower exchanges as an antecedent input to job demands-resource issues as precursor to the overall climate of engagement and specific engagement outcomes.

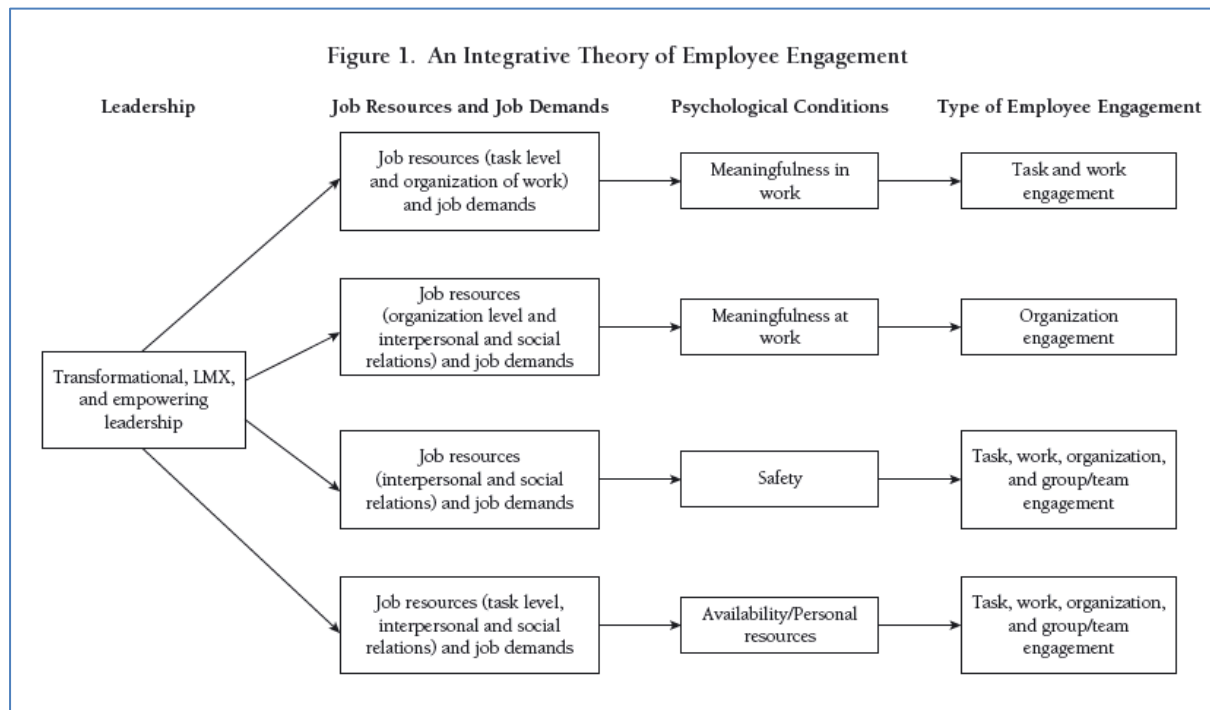


Figure 4 - Saks and Gruman, Integrative theory of employee engagement (2014, p. 173)

There is simultaneous strength and weakness in this conceptualisation. The model has strength in that it recognises the concept of something affecting/feeding into a climate of engagement fostered by meaningfulness, safety and availability. It is clearly apparent that a number of factors directly influence these psychological states, and it is correct to identify them. Secondly a focus on some elements of job resource also seems correct, job resource being an effective organisational input into the work environment. What seems somewhat unclear, however, is the model's delineation of types of organisational input which lead to different types of engagement. Where Kahn's (1990) model is strong is the theoretical flexibility it affords through a wide conceptualisation of psychological pre-conditions blended with a strong central tenet of the actual construct of engagement. In drawing links between specific inputs and outputs Saks and Gruman (2014) are attuning their work to organisational interests, effectively identifying where organisational interventions may be focused in order to elicit specific outcomes. The human state is not that simple and whilst the theory adds value to the debate in terms of focus upon job resource input it falls short of Kahn's (1990) more clearly defined but holistic concept of personal engagement. The paper is only theoretical with no modelling, yet provides a compelling comment on the antecedent

steps towards a climate of engagement and as such that element is anticipated to be partially validated in the data.

### **2.3.3 – Conclusions from the engagement literature**

The engagement debate has been charted from its source as a positive state psychological development, through its early history as the antithesis to burnout and into its modern dalliance with practitioner and consultant applications. Ultimately the theory which holds the strongest theoretical coherence throughout the subject's 25 year development has been Kahn's (1990) original multifaceted construct. It both provides a central theoretical tenet which is robust and tight, combined with a set of psychological preconditions (climate) which are more fluid and account for much of the variance upon which other theories stumble. In trying to create an organisational climate in which police officers can flourish and engage fully in role behaviours it is the psychological preconditions of safety, availability and meaningfulness, combined with an observance of job resources outside of the purely psychological which should feature in the observed data. The interrelation between a climate of engagement and issues of gender and diversity have also been exposed in the literature, alongside the issue of where engagement should sit in the HRM landscape. Arguably issues of gender, diversity and a wider HRM focus and understanding of what performance means are all crucial issues in policing. Thus, in turning to the context of policing, a clear agenda of a preferred model of engagement has been established. This chapter has established the superiority of Kahn's (1990) theory of engagement above other contemporaries. As such Kahn's (1990) theory of psychological preconditions provides the theoretical frame which is applied throughout the remaining work, with the additional consideration of the concept of material job resources. In furthering the research the following chapter applies that theoretical frame to the context of modern UK policing.

### **3.0 – Underlying change, traditional police culture and engagement**

Kahn's (1990) three psychological preconditions effectively form the conditions for a climate of engagement. Understood through a critical realist prism such a climate is inextricably linked with the organisational context in which it operates. Whilst the theoretical construct may be observed to operate more universally, the individual preconditions are necessarily specific to the environment to which the theory is being applied. This chapter explores that environment, arguing that the speed and magnitude of change in policing are both so significant as to render traditional views of police culture as invalid. That changed environment is described as the anticipated experienced reality of police officers, and it is theorised how such a climate juxtaposes with a climate in which officers can fully engage in their work role. In detail structural pressures upon UK policing in an age of financial austerity are described, alongside the changing organisational profile and view of the strategic governance revisions which now create a more politicised policing environment. These issues are important precursors to consideration of the classic themes of police culture, embodying a sense of mission, cynicism and an effective negative cultural picture. In viewing both the policing environment and views of classic culture together it is possible to see that the environment in which the traditional views were formed are hugely different to those of today. It is this significant change in environment which is postulated as the reason for expected deviations from the classic view, but also retention of some residual consensus. In conclusion the chapter exposes the concepts of psychological pre-conditions and a climate of engagement to police culture, asking effectively whether a culture as described in the police literature is one which fosters a climate in which police officers and staff can engage fully in role behaviours. Whilst there are apparent factors which support an engaging climate, there is an overwhelmingly negative overtone of policing cultural factors which should be expected to inhibit engagement, particularly those surrounding excessive job demands and burnout in an austere fiscal climate.

### **3.1 – UK Police workforce profile, structural and governance change in an age of austerity**

A central tenet of this work is that the structure and organisation of UK policing has developed in recent years at significant pace and that this scale and speed of change calls into question the continued validity of some previous research on police culture. In exploring that recent change it is particularly valuable to consider the concepts of workforce modernisation (a politically loaded term in its own right), the financial challenge, structural change, collaboration and police accountability, and the recent government reports from Winsor (2011, 2012), Hutton (2011) and Neyroud (2010).

### **3.1.1 - Workforce modernisation and the politicisation of policing**

Change in the employment status of UK police workers is a relatively new concept, UK policing having traditionally been the domain of sworn officers.<sup>1</sup> Workforce modernisation is a term politically charged with the doctrine of the Labour Party in the mid to late 2000s. Bach, Kessler and White (2005, p. 629) refer to the “rhetoric of modernisation” and its portrayed links with positive workforce outcomes. The dominance of sworn police officers within their organisation is telling in the research on police culture and motivation which is almost solely focused on uniformed officers. Workforce modernisation has been variously described as being involved in more tightly managed performance and reward and most notably the development of support roles to existing professional roles within the public sector (Loveday, Williams and Scott, 2008, p. 362). In policing this has mainly but not exclusively manifested itself in 2002 with the creation of the role of Police Community Support Officer (PCSO), a quasi-police uniformed role with some limited policing powers.<sup>2</sup> Additionally workforce modernisation has seen civilianisation of a wide range of formerly police officer roles. In pursuit of creating an organisation more representative of the public it polices, Merritt (2010) raises an important point. Citing Johnston (2005, 2006), Merritt (2010, p. 746) makes a simple but powerful assertion in respect of PCSOs, in that they “have more diverse backgrounds than PCs”, which “must bode well for engagement with modern UK communities”.<sup>3</sup> In 2008 on behalf of the centre-left Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR), Gash (2008, p. 5) made recommendations in this arena including role specialisation, more flexible team structures including mixed officer-staff teams, and more efficient use of support resources. In simple terms workforce modernisation seeks to significantly alter the recipe of the UK police workforce.

Considering issues of workforce modernisation Loveday (2004, p. 58) comments “how much more attention within official and academic literature and research has been directed to immediate operational and other aspects of policing and how rarely this has extended to the work of ‘non-sworn staff’”. In 2004 HMIC (2004) identified only two major categories of police employee, police officers and police staff, commenting that at the time about a third of the workforce was made up of police staff. Even then this distinction did not reflect the true diversity of police roles there being a range of differing police employee categories, namely police officers, police staff (employed by the police organisation), police staff (outsourced

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<sup>1</sup> Sworn Officer – Becoming a police officer involves swearing of an oath at point of attestation, resulting in police officers being “crown servants” as opposed to “employees”, unlike police staff and PCSOs.

<sup>2</sup> PCSO – Police Community Support Officer – A uniformed police staff member with limited policing powers.

<sup>3</sup> PC – Police Constable.



employment to a third party contractor), PCSO, and Special Constables.<sup>4</sup> In 2004 this stratification was neither as apparent nor as widespread as it is now. HMIC itself recognises a proportion of this stratification in its 2011 work in which they delineate police officer, police staff and PCSO roles indicating that the total UK workforce as of 31<sup>st</sup> March 2011 was 139,100 officers, 77,800 staff and 15,800 PCSOs (HMIC, 2011, p. 14). In some of its later work (HMIC, 2012, p. 32) recognise business partnering and outsourcing as modes of police collaboration. In comparison to the structural climate in which most of the UK police cultural research was conducted the organisation is now more diverse with many more types of police employee.

Savage (2007, p. 324) sees the role of neighbourhood policing (the vehicle for PCSOs) as government intervention in the strategic direction of policing alongside a raft of other similar interventions involved with the politicisation of law and order, and specifically New Labour's grasp for the traditionally Tory "law and order vote". Savage (2007, p. 330) describes a bifurcation of simultaneous empowerment and disempowerment of the police under the same reform agenda: disempowerment of strategic leaders through the imposition of top down objectives, national policing plans and imposed structural changes and empowerment through an increasing range of more powerful legislative tools providing an increasing legalistic armoury to officers on the street. He posits the reason for this reform agenda squarely in the political arena of the politicisation of the police, an agenda which has clearly unfolded since the publication of Savage's (2007) essay with political agendas surrounding terrorism, crime recording and a range of high profile incidents such as Plebgate, the Duggan shooting and 2011 riots, and scandals in undercover policing.<sup>5</sup>

### **3.1.2 - Financial challenge**

In response to the global economic crisis of 2008 the UK Government's Comprehensive Spending Review for the four years to 2014-15 cut the central government grant to the police forces of England and Wales by twenty per cent. HMIC (2011, p. 10) estimate that this equates to a cut of £1.9 billion or in real terms fourteen per cent of the total UK police budget over this period. Against a backdrop of increases in police resourcing by what Gash (2008, p. 4) described in 2008 as "25 per cent in real terms since 2001" this magnitude of cuts hugely impacts on UK policing. HMIC (2011, p. 3) describe the situation as the "biggest

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<sup>4</sup> Special Constable – Unpaid police volunteers with full policing powers.

<sup>5</sup> A range of high profile issues involving the Metropolitan Police force (MPS). Plebgate refers to police collusion following a cabinet minister's alleged use of the word 'pleb' to officers in Westminster, the Duggan shooting refers to 2011 fatal shooting of Mark Duggan by police and the subsequent nationwide riots and scandals in undercover policing refers to the MPS' damages payment in 2014 of £400,000 to a woman who bore a child to an undercover police officer in 1985 and other dubious activities of the now disbanded Special Demonstration Squad.

financial challenge in a generation” which “could be seen either as an opportunity to innovate and refresh – or as a reason to continue as is and see services cut back”. The effects of these cuts upon the climate in which officers work is not fully known. Theorists have, however, commented upon the likely retraction from some progressive forms of policing in favour of harder line approaches (Hough, 2013, p. 195) and also the erosion of public confidence in policing even if frontline visibility is maintained through reorganisation of back office functions (Sindall and Sturgis, 2013, p. 137). Police force responses to this economic demand have been varied, cuts affecting different forces in different ways as some were more reliant on government central grant.<sup>6</sup> The financial challenge has placed additional pressure on forces to save money and, as HMIC indicate, either innovate or cut services. HMIC (2011, p. 4) estimated that between March 2010 and March 2015 police officer numbers would fall by 16200, police staff by 16100 and PCSOs by 1800. It is also clear that the threat of redundancy affects staff in different ways. Police officers are not technically employees, but crown servants and, as such, have various privileges including, crucially, that they cannot be made redundant. Police staff and PCSOs have no similar protection and are far more vulnerable to economic pressure. This fact is demonstrable when, using HMIC (2011, p. 14) figures, one compares the relative percentage reduction in officer and staff reduction from 2011 to 2014, the officer pool losing an estimated 11.7 per cent with the staff pool losing an estimated 20.7 per cent from what was also a smaller original pool. When looking at police expenditure which is mainly people, 81 per cent pay and other people costs (HMIC, 2011, p. 24), the inability to make police officers redundant forces police forces to look hard at their police staff contingents. If workforce modernisation sought to increase the ratio of police staff within the workforce mix, based on perceived benefits, this unforeseen consequence of austerity surely hinders that same agenda. Another linked factor when resource pressure is tight is the service’s reliance on its unpaid Special Constabulary. The Special Constabulary, unlike the military reservist forces, is an unpaid vocation in which members of the public give freely of their time to provide policing services. Notably with considerably less training than a regular officer a warranted Special Constable still holds all of the same legal powers. As resources become scarcer and pressure on regular resources become more stretched the reliance on the Special Constabulary is inevitably more acute. Barton (2013, p. 222) identifies that the impact of such financial reductions are felt not just across the size and shape of the police force, but also crucially across the service’s mandated role to preserve law and order, how the public perceive of those changes and ultimately trust and confidence in policing services.

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<sup>6</sup> UK Police forces derive funding from three places, government grant, precept from local council tax and any income generation. The proportion of each force’s reliance on any one factor differs, hence a 20% cut to grant impacts different forces in different ways.

### **3.1.3 - Collaboration, structural change, and accountability**

The dual pressures of an existing governmental drive to modernise the UK police workforce alongside a significant economic contraction, and a growing politicisation of policing agendas have culminated in a structural landscape of policing which is very different from a few short years ago. All UK forces have engaged in significant internal change programmes. Typical projects involve the rationalisation of geographic command areas, the identification of non-pay savings, the rationalisation of buildings and vehicles and inevitably the reduction of police officer, staff and PCSO numbers. Nearly all forces have turned to collaboration with other forces, and/or the private or public sector. In 2012 HMIC (2012, p. 5) identified 543 collaboration projects on-going between the 43 forces of England and Wales. These projects included combinations of force to force, other public sector and with the private sector in either outsourcing or business partnering arrangements. Outsourcing and business partnering is particularly relevant as it challenges the job security of police staff. Faced with an overwhelmingly bleak financial outlook in December 2011, Lincolnshire Police (2011) made the decision to outsource business and operational support services to the security firm G4S in a landmark development which meant the redundancy of police staff or their transfer from the police force to G4S. Lincolnshire are not the only force looking at such radical solutions. There is limited research on this issue within policing, however, research from other sectors challenges the envisaged success of such schemes. Both Smith (2012, p. 107) and Grimshaw, Vincent and Willmott (2002, p. 475) essentially comment on the mismatch between profit and public service agendas in public service outsourcing, whilst in showing a correlation between organisational identity and organisational citizenship behaviour Hoggett et al. (2014, p. 135) indirectly raise the significant issue of staff motivation with an outsourced identity. The predicted success of further collaboration and particularly privatisation/outsourcing arrangements in policing is not clear.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> November 2012 the government completed one of the most fundamental changes to police governance since Peel's 1829 charter with the introduction of Police and Crime Commissioners (PCC) as directly elected replacements for police authorities removing the tripartite model of police governance.<sup>7</sup> Dependent on one's political outlook the PCCs have delivered a previously unknown level of accountability or political interference to UK policing. Millie and Bullock (2013, p. 136) comment upon the populist agenda of elections to create the illusion of democratic accountability which may in reality only serve to reinforce police attention on unpopular or marginalised sections of community. Significantly PCCs will have the power to recruit and terminate the employment of Chief Constables and

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<sup>7</sup> Separation of powers between Chief Constable, Home Office and Police Authority designed to keep balance.

whilst technically Chief Constables retain operational independence the reality is still unfolding. A key manifesto item for some PCC nominees was the issue of outsourcing against the backdrop of G4S's failure to deliver sufficient security guards for the London 2012 Olympics.<sup>8</sup> The whole issue of the credibility and good-standing of a potential outsourcing company is of course a central issue for a police force, its public reputation and its workforce. A company with a tarnished background is unlikely to inspire the confidence and support of staff who will potentially transfer across from their police parent. Again Hoggett et al's (2014, p.135) findings of strong correlation between organisational identity and organisational citizenship behaviour show the apparent issue here. In terms of employee engagement this dynamic is significant and the influence of PCCs upon it will be crucial.

#### **3.1.4 - Winsor, Hutton and Neyroud**

Between 2010 and 2012 there were three reports affecting aspects of policing, the recommendations from which have all largely been implemented by the UK government. Alongside the landscape of change these reports significantly add to the sense of a radical overhaul of UK policing and increasing political involvement. Published in two parts (March 2011 and March 2012) the Winsor report (2011, 2012) made far reaching recommendations related to officer pay and conditions including overtime, shift allowances, redundancy conditions, sickness, pension age and direct entry at Inspector, Superintendent and Chief Constable ranks. Recommendations from both parts of the report have been largely implemented, contrary to the impotent lobbying of the police associations. In a survey of some 10 per cent of UK police officers Hoggett et al. (2014, p. 5) found that 84 per cent of respondents felt that the Winsor review would negatively impact on their ability to do their job. The Hutton report (2011) made recommendations to increase the pensionable age for police officers to 60, and to alter the pension scheme from final salary to career average. Finally the Neyroud (2010) report made recommendations (now implemented) for the abolition of quango organisations such as the National Police Improvement Agency and their replacement with a single professional body of policing (College of Policing) similar to a chartered professional body evident in other professions. In combination with the structural changes already highlighted, these three reports and the changes which have ensued as a result of them have fundamentally altered the conditions and contracts for all those working within UK policing, representing a strong challenge to the status quo and evidence of continuing politicisation.

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<sup>8</sup> G4S were contracted to provide security provision for the London 2012 Olympics but failed to provide sufficient resourcing resulting in UK military and additional police support to Olympic venues.

Loveday, Williams and Scott (2008, p. 364) highlight the police force as resistant to reform, citing factors including the “three powerful and conservative police associations” and, in line with Waddington’s (1999a) commentary, “wide discretion in interpreting the law”. Loveday et al. (2008) cite the three police associations, ACPO Superintendent’s Association and the Police Federation, yet change has eroded the validity of these views.<sup>9</sup> The influence of these associations has been significantly weakened. The Police and Crime Commissioner power to remove Chief Constables has eroded the operational independence of the Chief Constable and also weakened the influence of ACPO as a lobbying group. Savage (2007, p. 317) recognised this transition as a constituent factor of police disempowerment and politicisation even before PCCs. The same erosion of power can be seen with the Police Federation whose real negotiating ability through the Police Negotiating Board has been effectively highlighted as non-existent as the government have pushed ahead with pension, work condition and leadership changes following the respective reports of Winsor, Neyroud and Hutton. Even the mechanics of decision-making have been reviewed, the Police Negotiating Board being replaced in October 2014 with the new Police Remuneration Review Body. This new body has an independent remit to settle police pay issues, but the influence of the Police Federation within this new construct is severely weakened. It is apparent that the once powerful police associations have been considerably side-lined.

In summary a confluence of factors create a radically different policing environment both structurally and one less resistant to political influence. It can be seen that the UK policing environment has become radically different in a short time. Police cultural research which pre-dates much of this change cannot hope to have taken sufficient issues into account. Such radical change to the very fabric of the policing must challenge some of the accepted consensus of police culture research.

### **3.2 – Traditional versions of police culture in an austere climate**

Robert Peel and the Metropolitan Police Act of 1829 are widely recognised as the founders of modern policing in the UK and, whilst much went before, this point of demarcation provides the foundations of recurrent influence in policing, namely the famous declaration that “the principal object to be attained is the prevention of crime” (General Instructions, 1829). Arguably this single statement set the tone and ‘mission’ for UK policing to this day. The police force was for many decades an organisation which resisted study, a factor which perhaps explains the significant influence which scholarship from the 1960s and 1970s still has today and the resultant re-examination of those core themes which emerges in more recent writings (Stenning, 2009, p. 916). Van Hulst (2013, p. 624) frames the modern debate

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<sup>9</sup> ACPO – Association of Chief Police Officers.

between those who perceive classic police culture as focused on mission, cynicism, solidarity in an environment routinely less exciting than perceived, through to those arguing that culture varies over space, time and context.

A leading theorist who draws on this classic work is Reiner (2010, p. 115) and his postulation of a “cop-culture”. Whilst recognising that police culture is not monolithic, Reiner (2010) does identify a number of core facets including mission-action-cynicism-pessimism (p. 119), suspicion (p. 121), isolation-solidarity (p. 122), conservatism (p. 126), machismo (p. 128), racial prejudice (p. 128), and pragmatism (p. 131). Each is worth examining in turn as similar themes resonate throughout later research and his ideas form something of a canon of traditional police cultural themes.

### **3.2.1 - Mission-Action-Cynicism-Pessimism**

Reiner highlights that officers feel that “policing is not just a job but a way of life” (2010, p. 119) and that in pursuit of a worthwhile goal an officer is given a “licence for action” (2010, p. 120), i.e. that there is a policing mission or purpose which is worth actively pursuing. Crucially it is the emphasis on the excitement and action which is perceived as the key driver in police motivation and, as commentators highlight, work such as community or neighbourhood policing is not perceived as good police work (Loftus, 2009, p. 189), as it lacks excitement irrespective of how important/effective it actually is in delivering public service. Reiner recognises, however, that this involvement in life changing/ending incidents is not the everyday experience of policing in that it “overlooks the mundane reality of everyday policing, which is often boring, messy, petty, trivial and venal” (2010, p. 120). Drawing on the famous work of Niederhoffer (1967), Reiner introduces the concept of police cynicism or pessimism. He describes the police officer’s self-perception as a sole guardian of morality being “overrun by the forces of barbarism” (2010, p. 120). Whilst the language initially appears strong, faced with backdrop of officers being shot and killed on the streets of Tameside, it is easy to understand how this perception arises.<sup>10</sup> Reiner summarises his position: “The characteristic police outlook is this subtle and complex intermingling of the themes of mission, hedonistic love of action and pessimistic cynicism. Each feeds off and reinforces the others” (2010, p. 121). In partial agreement Bradford and Quinton (2014, p. 1041) identify elements of cynicism but posit cynicism and authoritarian attitudes not as a response to the mundane reality of policing, but as a response to perceived organisational injustice. When reflecting upon the climate an organisation creates for its workforce, it would be worth focusing on Bradford and Quinton’s (2014) summation as an alternate reason for

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<sup>10</sup> PCs Fiona Bone and Nicola Hughes were murdered by gun and grenade attack, having been lured to a house in September 2012 in Tameside, Greater Manchester.

officer attitudes. Returning to the classic view Hickman, Piquero and Piquero (2004) directly examine Niederhoffer's (1967) concept of a police cynicism scale. Whilst largely supporting the traditional view of police cynicism, their most interesting thoughts refer to their suggestions for further study. Their work recognises how the concept of cynicism could operate alternately within discrete parts of a police organisation, pointing to "other departments in different cities, countries and locales", also "different positions within the same police agency" and across "different types of agencies (watchman, legalistic, service, etc)". With a view to changing organisational profiles within the UK, their work describes an important future focus for research on police cynicism.

O'Neill and McCarthy (2014, p. 155) indirectly challenge emphasis of the prime motivating position of action in officer psyche by demonstrating the value neighbourhood/community officers find in long term partnership work with other agencies whilst Cochran and Bromley (2003, p. 108) suggest a police sub-culture "that is strongly oriented toward community-service". Both findings, alongside the body of literature previously identified related to public service motivation, challenge Reiner's (2010) view surrounding the level of significance which the love of action plays in officers' motivations.

### **3.2.2 - Suspicion**

Describing classic views of police suspicion Cochran and Bromley (2003, p. 89-90) express a typical officer response to their working environment, the need to develop an 'edge' and the suspicion and cynicism which go alongside. Reiner argues that suspicion and prejudice go hand in hand, and that officers need to develop "fine grained cognitive maps of the social world, so that they can readily predict and handle the behaviour of a wide range of others" (2010, p. 121), i.e. they need to be able to recognise what is unusual or out of place. As such difference from the norm automatically attracts suspicion and as such opens the door to prejudiced views.

### **3.2.3 - Isolation-Solidarity**

Myhill and Bradford (2013, p. 343) identify that in-group mentality amongst officers might threaten one of the Peelian fundamental principles of policing in the UK: 'that the police are the public and the public are the police'. Skolnick (2008, p. 37) describes a "code of silence" which has a two-sided effect, positive in the preservation of solidarity and team working in the face of danger, yet negative in the simultaneous tendency to prevent the investigation of wrongdoing in peers. At the most simple level Reiner describes factors which isolate police officers from the outside world (shift patterns, hostility from non-police, difficulties in switching off, recruitment and training practices) and the sense of internal solidarity



experienced by officers and their expectation that they will be 'backed up' by their colleagues both in a physical sense but also with the aim of "concealing minor violations" (Reiner, 2010, p. 122). Loftus (2009, p. 119) points to the homogenous (white male) composition of police teams as a potential explanatory factor for these factors. If homogeneous composition is an explanatory factor, then any significant alteration in team diversity could well lead to improvement, a factor recognised by Sklansky and Marks (2008, p. 2-3).

#### **3.2.4 - Conservatism**

Reiner points to an organisation steeped in disciplined tight hierarchy which fosters a conservative formulation both "politically and morally" (2010, p. 126). Highlighting research difficulties which he encountered in the late 1970s and again drawing on the work of Niederhoffer (1967) Reiner points to traits of this conservatism as dislike for minority groups such as drug addicts and gay people. Whilst recognising that the "bulk of officers were drawn from the working class" (2010, p. 126) and the inherent internal political tension that that engenders, Reiner highlights the essential role of the police, their constant interaction with the "bottom layers of the social order" and in being "routinely pitted against organised labour and the left" (2010, p. 126) as key reasons for their conservative outlook. Skolnick (2008, p. 37), however, is not so sure, and whilst recognising the traditional view that "police lean to the right politically and morally" he identifies increasing cultural and racial diversity and better educational standards, suggesting things may be different now.

#### **3.2.5 - Machismo**

Lila, Gracia and Garcia (2013, p. 914) describe the outcome of police machismo stating that officers with stereotypical ideas about women are more likely to deliver resolutions in domestic violence cases which fail to pursue positive action and protect the victim. Lila, Gracia and Garcia (2013, p. 915) also comment on the importance of taking into account personality traits such as empathy and non-sexist attitudes in police selection. Skolnick (2008, p. 41-42) highlights the increasing diversity of US police forces as a positive factor, yet also cites the work of Martin (2008) who highlighted the masculine attitudes which some female officers adopt. McCarthy (2013, p. 275) recognises an element of masculine macho tradition but, contrary to Martin's (2008) fears, also describes a culture of women delivering soft policing approaches in a highly effective manner which serve as support "for a model of policing which is largely progressive in its aims and objectives". Clearly a blend of simultaneous structural and attitudinal change is a necessary precondition for effective reform in this area, and should be considered as a climate factor for effective engagement.



### 3.2.6 - Racial prejudice

Rowe (2004) devotes an entire book to the complexities of the issue of policing and racism. He ascribes limited value to the explanatory impact of a sub-culture of policing which is racist on the basis that “it is difficult to determine to what extent officers subscribe to the racism often noted within the culture....it is also not clear that elements of racism are distinct to the police force” (Rowe, 2004, p. 54). Rowe (2004) argues that the police is still institutionally racist, a challenge levied by the Macpherson report of 1999, however, highlights that police sub-culture is not the only issue at cause. Indeed Rowe argues (2004, p. 53) that concentration on the issue of culture may draw attention away from wider issues which may have “broader ramifications”. Souhami (2014, p. 1) agrees commenting that concentration on issues of police culture has failed to deal with, or even frustrated attempts to manage, the dynamics of institutional discrimination, again pointing to underlying structural factors. Souhami’s (2014) observation is akin to Skolnick’s (2008, p. 39) that “police behaviour is strongly influenced by the underlying values – and politics – of the community that finances the police department”. Whilst Skolnick’s (2008) comments are aimed at the numerous US policing organisations each aligned to a political administration, the influence he describes is not so distant from UK shores following the introduction of PCCs.

Rowe does argue, however, that police resistance to management initiatives is in itself an obstacle to the eradication of racism as it serves to prevent the roll out of training and management objectives aimed at altering behaviour and that “junior ranks enjoy considerable discretion as they carry out their routine activities” (Rowe, 2004, p. 54). Rowe continues that (2004, p. 55) “in the wake of publication of the Lawrence Report, several senior police officers publicly stated that the service was institutionally racist, which drew considerable hostility from some of the junior officers”. Institutional racism is vaguely defined, however, in a study of traffic ticket violations in the US, Regoeczi and Kent (2014) point to the over representation of minority ethnic people within traffic ticket issue figures. In explaining this they identify the over representation of minority ethnic persons within a socioeconomic strata of society which renders them more liable to receive violation notices for a range of economic factors such that they become caught in a cycle, effectively suggesting that the institutional practices of a range of agencies disadvantage persons from that minority group and render them more likely to prosecution (Regoeczi and Kent, 2014, p. 201).

Waddington (1999a) also describes discretion within the lower ranks of the police suggesting that those “at the base of hierarchy have tremendous power....street level officers routinely make decisions – such to arrest – that are not only fateful for the citizen, but also for the

organisation” (1999a, p. 229). In combination Rowe (2004) and Waddington’s (1999a) comments show powerfully that high levels of discretion placed within the lower echelons of the police provide potential opportunity for deviant police action. Whilst autonomy and discretion provide an opportunity for deviant activity they are of course constituent elements of Kahn’s (1990) task characteristics (psychological meaningfulness) a factor confirmed by Johnson’s (2012, p. 170) study which identifies the “importance of autonomy as a source of job satisfaction”.

### **3.2.7 - Pragmatism**

Cochran and Bromley (2003, p. 90) comment on how the same sentiments of solidarity and the covering of colleague indiscretions leads officers to “confront and negate reform attitudes” in a manner which prevents the development of new ideas and outside influences. O’Neil and McCarthy (2014, p. 155) challenge this view stating neighbourhood and community officer beliefs in long term partnership problem solving initiatives, suggesting that a view of police pragmatism which emphasises the short term is incorrect and may have arisen through a research focus on response officers as opposed to other roles.

### **3.2.8 - Other theorists**

Reiner (2010) brings together a succinct summary of much research which was conducted through the 1960s and 1970s and his theories provide a benchmark for the contemporary debate. His frames of reference provide a useful vehicle to chart the development of police cultural research, however, there are fields of research outside his taxonomy. Relative to the concept of engagement in policing, a number of other cultural traits are valuable.

Villiers (2003, p. 29-31) describes the challenges for police leadership in respect of culture focusing on blame, cynicism, distrust of charisma, masculinity and anti-leadership. Villiers (2003, p. 29) points to a culture which seeks to find retrospective fault as opposed a respect for professionalism and trust. He comments similarly to Reiner (2010) on police cynicism, however, his focus is more on the cynical nature of police “about themselves, about their leaders, and about the limits of what can be achieved by their organisation” (Villiers, 2003, p. 29) as opposed the more public-facing vision. Perhaps Villiers’ most interesting observation is that policing is suspicious of charismatic leadership and indeed leadership in its entirety (2003, p. 30-31). These views appear to have been developed through Villiers’ role within the police staff college at Bramshill yet little actual evidence is provided. Indeed Cockcroft (2014, p. 12) comments on the dangers of ascribing too much value on either of the transformational or transactional leadership paradigms without a fuller recognition of the nuances of organisational life. Hoggett et al’s (2014, p. 138-142) report provides evidence,

somewhat to the contrary of Villiers (2003) suggesting that there is an acute interest in and demand for good leadership amongst the service. What is clear is that leadership has a role to play in the engagement of the policing organisation.

In the previous chapter employee voice was observed as an important concept related to engagement. Views on how employee voice operationalises within policing are varied, from those who ascribe to the view that the quasi-military structures and emphasis on command and control serve to inhibit employee voice in decision making (Myhill and Bradford, 2013, p. 343) to those who emphasise the rich and nuanced answers that front line officers can provide to complex policing issues (Sklansky and Marks, 2008, p. 4). Hoggett et al. (2014, p. 143) also recognised the issue pointing to “open and honest dialogue between staff and ACPO ranks” as a key factor linked to communication, engagement and support.

In concluding discussion of the ‘traditional/classic’ view of police culture it is worth reflecting on the thoughts of Neyroud and Beckley (2001) who postulate the role of policing relative to human rights and in particular response to various human rights abuses. They argue that ‘human rights policing’ requires the “personal responsibility of the practitioner to make, evidence and be held accountable for complex ethical judgements” that increased bureaucratic control seems “least likely to succeed” and conclude that effective cultural change requires the “coincidence of internal and external pressures” (Neyroud and Beckley, 2001, p.92). In essence they argue that it is not just an internal policy decision which is needed to alter police culture, but the confluence of external and internal factors including structural change which are essential to alter the overall landscape. It is these exact conditions which have been described in the preceding two sections. Terpstra and Schaap (2013, p. 70) describe differing police culture in the Netherlands, hence showing the possibility for police culture to be different given different environmental conditions. Thus if it is concluded that a threshold level of change has been experienced within UK policing, then the door may be open for a revised vision of police culture.

### **3.3 – The validity of traditional police culture in an age of austerity and the relationship with the psychological preconditions for engagement**

This chapter has demonstrated a vast array of internal and external pressures and it must now be argued that Neyroud and Beckley’s (2001) dual conditions of internal and external pressures have been largely satisfied with radical overhauls of police governance, structure, and terms and conditions to the extent that the organisation is in a period of high flux. Authors have commented upon the endurance of policing’s “proverbial characteristics” (Loftus, 2009, p. 126). However, it is right to reflect on this debate, the current validity of

those traditional views measured against such a changed context and ultimately the impact this has on the psychological preconditions for engagement in UK policing.

This claim that police culture is changing/has changed in response to structural development is on first reading at stark contrast to Loftus (2009, 2010) who questions the “extent to which police culture has changed in light of developments in policing” (Loftus, 2010, p. 16). Elias (2009, p. 51) recognises the unique environment of policing (and in so expressing indirect preference for a theory of a single culture) commenting “there may be organisational culture and power differences between this sample and a more traditional employee sample”. Loftus (2009 and 2010) plays down developments in policing as justification for changes in police culture. These include “cultural, ethnic and gender diversification” and “operational changes such as community policing and official critiques of the police” (Loftus 2010, p. 16). Loftus’ essential argument is that whilst these developments are important they have not fundamentally challenged the fabric of policing and are not sufficient to have driven cultural change. It is proposed here that since Loftus conducted her ethnographic research in ‘Northshire’ constabulary between March 2004 and October 2005 (Loftus, 2010, p. 3) that the huge structural, governance, political, and fiscal changes as previously described have now created the conditions to fundamentally change the fabric of the policing environment. It is perfectly possible that the developments to which Loftus (2009, 2010) refers were at the time insufficient to have driven significant cultural change. However, the incremental developments since Loftus (2009, 2010) conducted her empirical study cumulatively now create a fundamentally different research setting than the one in which she worked. Indeed, reflecting on three major policy changes imposed on policing post austerity (Hutton, 2011, Neyroud, 2010, Winsor, 2011, 2012) all post-date the actual research phase of those theorists who have come to define the traditional view of police literature (Reiner, 2010, Loftus, 2009, 2010, Skolnick 2008).

Some commentators have come to refer to plural cultures as opposed a single all-embracing culture. Waddington (1999b, p. 302) still argues for the existence of a monolithic sub-culture but describes it as a function of police speech (canteen culture) as opposed to police action suggesting the narrative of traditional culture has become a means to condemn police behaviour as opposed to explain it. In contrast, Ingram, Paoline III and Terrill (2013, p. 369) take a pluralistic stance, arguing that a monolithic reading of police culture is achieved at the expense of “teasing out important differences amongst officers” and how they react to their work environments. Cockcroft (2013, p. 146) treads between the two, arguing that certain changes within policing such as the diversification of its workforce challenge the fundamental building blocks upon which the work of traditional theorists such as Niederhoffer (1967) rests. However, rather than conceptually abandoning the concept of sub-culture, Cockcroft

(2013, p. 146) suggests that a “deeper more symbolic” interpretation exists which can take account of changes.

Much of the available research still supports some features of traditional police culture. Whilst recognising the enormous change in policing, it would be foolish to disregard the strong literature backing for some traditional views. However, there is also a body of research that, if read in conjunction with an understanding of the recent changes to UK police forces begins to show how and why classic police culture is challenged. Policing is becoming increasingly diversified, its traditional employee associations have been disempowered, its fundamental structure is developing, its governance and priorities have become politicised and outsourcing could affect the landscape in ways that are currently unforeseen.

### **3.3.1 - The relationship between police culture in an age of austerity and the psychological preconditions to a climate of engagement in UK policing**

Kahn's (1990) psychological pre-conditions set out an effective climate for engagement. Elements of police culture, whether monolithic or plural, necessarily interact at this antecedent level and influences the existence of an environment in which officers are able to fully engage in role behaviours. An examination of each of Kahn's (1990) three psychological pre-conditions in light of factors of both police culture and structural change follows.

### **3.3.2 – Police culture and Psychological meaningfulness: Task characteristics, role characteristics and work interactions**

Kahn described task characteristics required for greater meaningfulness as “challenging, clearly delineated, varied, creative, and somewhat autonomous” (1990, p. 704). The sense of autonomy experienced by officers may be challenged in the current climate through perceived political interference of a PCC and also by the bureaucratic organisation through what Sklansky and Marks (2008, p. 4) have described as a management tendency to “relentless, business-like focus on efficiency, cost-effectiveness, and numerically measured performance”. Johnson (2012, p. 170) supports the importance of autonomy and discretion in his study of job satisfaction amongst law enforcement workers. Johnson's (2012, p. 170) study found that job task and organisational environments played a more substantial role in job satisfaction than did the personal characteristics of the individual, hence supporting the view that organisations can actively influence the engagement of their staff. Miller, Mire, and Kim (2009, p. 424) concluded similarly that variety, whole task completion, impact, autonomy and supervisory feedback were all positively related to higher satisfaction. Public service motivation combined with practical personal factors (practical and altruistic) were found by

White et al. (2010, p. 524) to be stable motivational factors over time. In combination these studies reinforce the importance of Kahn's (1990) construct in a policing environment.

Role characteristics required for greater meaningfulness are twofold, firstly organisational identity and the match between individual and the role identity required, and secondly the intrinsic influence or power associated with role. This was a key finding for Hoggett et al. (2014, p. 137) who conclude that "if officer goodwill is important to the effective functioning of the police force (as officers suggest) then it is important to look at police organisational identity, threats to it and how to strengthen it". Immediately it is apparent that any outsourcing arrangement whereby staff no longer work directly for the police but a third party contractor threatens a sense of organisational identity and indeed the public service motivation which influenced the individual to join policing in the first place.

Work interactions which supported a sense of greater meaningfulness were those which "included rewarding interpersonal interactions with co-workers and clients" which "promoted dignity, self-appreciation, and a sense of worthwhileness" (Kahn, 1990, p. 707). In essence the job of policing has not changed. The literature suggests there is still a sense of mission, which should be perceived as worthwhile. However, it is easy to see how in changing times pessimism and cynicism could interact to significantly lower people's sense of dignity, self-respect and their interactions with colleagues and the general public.

### **3.3.3 – Police culture and Psychological safety: interpersonal relationships, group and intergroup dynamics, management style, process and organisational norms**

Interpersonal relationships which fostered psychological safety were those which were "supportive and trusting" and that "allowed people to try and perhaps fail without fearing the consequences" (Kahn, 1990, p. 708). Traditional interpretations of police culture do not suggest an environment which fosters these traits. Policing may not be perceived by those within it as a safe place to make mistakes, particularly when those mistakes are made on high profile or otherwise important assignments. Villiers' (2003, p. 29) demonstration of a blame culture is recognition of this dynamic. Group and inter group dynamics were those unacknowledged or unconscious roles which people play within a social construct and essentially reflect power within an overall macro group. Conceptualisations of solidarity and isolation create the conditions under which these forms of social constructs are strong and potentially an aid to engaging police workforces. The potential dilution of this dynamic as police workforces become more diverse is unknown, but homogeneous solidarity may be reasonably assumed to reduce as diversity proliferates. Kahn (1990, p. 711) found that

“supportive, resilient and clarifying management heightened psychological safety”. Processes and managerial stances which provided people opportunity to try and fail without fear heightened psychological safety, whilst approaches which held control tight into the leader heightened mistrust (Kahn, 1990, p. 711). Command and control management still dominates in policing. Villiers (2003, p. 30) saw that in police leaders “ruthless determination is admired, charisma with some suspicion, and a charismatic style of leadership is generally seen as neither necessary nor even desirable for police leaders”. Clearly classic police leadership does not naturally sow the seeds of a safety climate. Lastly greater psychological safety was associated with role performances which fell within the boundaries of the normal behaviours and expectations of the system members (Kahn, 1990, p. 712). As a traditionally conservative organisation a sense of norm is likely to enhance the organisational sense of safety, however, the speed and depth of current change will no doubt challenge what is normal and there may well be turmoil whilst these boundaries are re-established.

#### **3.3.4 – Police culture and Psychological availability: physical energy, emotional energy, insecurity and outside lives**

As the policing organisation shrinks across all areas it is inevitable that additional work is taken on by a decreasing pool of people. If work resources are not balanced with that increasing volume of demand a reduction in physical energy is inevitable, people simply become worn out. Emotional energy referred to a measure of emotional capital necessary to absorb the stresses and strains of the task in hand, in essence, resilience. The sheer volume of change within the police force is a significant challenge to the resolve of all but the most resilient. It is easy to see how the current climate creates a myriad of interrelated pressures on every individual within the organisation. Drew, Carless and Thompson (2008, p. 329) recognise that simple facts of everyday policing such as dealing with death and injury are also potential emotionally draining factors.

Concepts of insecurity were linked to feelings of greater self-consciousness, whereby a preoccupation with others opinions prevented an individual in full role engagement (Kahn, 1990, p. 716). Ambivalence regarding one’s fit with the organisation and its purpose could distract necessary attention from role performance. Whilst this current research is focused on police officers, for police staff and PCSOs the sense of insecurity created by their level of job-insecurity under the current economic conditions are sufficient to create stress in this area. Outside life also had a perceived impact on availability, with both the energising and depleting impact personal circumstances could have on role behaviour. The potential depleting effect of police work is recognised by Howard, Donofrio and Boles (2004, p. 388)

who conclude that “police suffer stress when work causes family disruption”, albeit causal effect may well operate in both directions.

### **3.3.5 – Police culture, job demands and burnout**

Whilst not within Kahn’s (1990) taxonomy there is a small body of literature which has examined the issue of police engagement through the paradigm of burnout and job demands-resources. Much of this research has used the Maslach Burnout Inventory (MBI) and Utrecht Work Engagement Scale (UWES). Burke and Mikkelsen (2005, p. 276) investigated the link between the three burnout dimensions as recognised by the MBI with the use of social skills and the use of force by police officers. They found that cynicism and burnout on the part of officers “may be associated with excessive and inappropriate use of force” (Burke and Mikkelsen, 2005, p. 276). Similarly using both the UWES and MBI Mostert and Rothmann (2006, p. 487) found that burnout for officers was predicted by stress due to job demands, lack of resources, low emotional stability and low conscientiousness and that work engagement was predicted by conscientiousness, emotional stability and low stress due to job demands.

Blumenstein, Fridell and Jones (2012) examine the link between authoritarianism, cynicism and burnout with domestic violence in the officers’ own personal lives. Their research is particularly interesting for the engagement theorist in their explicit link between cynicism and burnout. Blumenstein et al. (2012, p. 150) argue that “officers who adhere to traditional police sub-culture are more likely to experience burnout due to aggressive law enforcement tactics and the cynical attitude they adopt”. Again, recognising the cultural differences between the US and UK, the research conducted by Blumenstein et al. (2012) does largely resonate with the themes identified by Reiner (2010).

The literature on job demands-resources and burnout in policing is important when viewed through the lens of significant structural change and financial austerity in UK policing. At the macro level Millie and Bullock (2013, p. 140) comment on the potential societal effects of post austerity policing and the democratic need to ensure “fairness and respect for all” in both the setting of priorities and issues of procedural justice. At the micro level findings from Burke and Mikkelsen (2005) and Blumenstein et al. (2012) suggest that the use of force both in and outside of the work role may become higher as job demands and cynicism increase. With reduced resources in a fiscally austere climate, increased job demands upon UK officers are anticipated, hence increased use of force is a societal threat. The possible side effects of high level demand and burnout appear negative and threatening to the overall purpose of policing both at the macro and micro levels.



In summary it can be seen that for almost every element of Kahn's (1990) three psychological pre-conditions there is an interrelated police cultural element, particularly exacerbated by the significant speed and scale of change within UK policing. Of particular note, additional to Kahn's (1990) engagement construct is the issue of job demands-resources in a fiscally austere climate and the threat this poses to a climate in which officers can engage fully in role behaviours.

### **3.4 – Anticipated empirical observations**

This chapter considered police culture, workforce and structural change and the implications for the study of employee engagement within UK policing. It considered the wide range of structural and workforce change evident in contemporary UK policing, a critical evaluation of traditional interpretations of police culture within that changing environment and lastly the interrelation of those issues with the concept of a climate of engagement.

The engagement literature indicated that the data should be expected to demonstrate a strong theoretical resonance with Kahn's (1990) preconditions of safety, availability and meaningfulness combined with an overlay of job demands-resources so aptly demonstrated in Saks and Grumans' (2014) integrative theory of employee engagement. This chapter has shown how we should expect to see resonance of some traditional police cultural themes, but these will be substantially challenged by the sheer flux through which the police organisation in the UK is moving/has moved. Even the most recent considerable ethnographic study of UK policing (Loftus, 2009, p. 189) showed strong support for elements of traditional police culture such as a sense of mission, a crime fighting mind set, the pursuit of excitement and a macho culture. These traits should be expected in the data, yet whether they support the endurance of a monolithic view of police culture is rightfully an analytical issue. We should, however, also expect new themes, centred around public service motivation and a more progressive organisational focus, influenced by a changing and austere background which fundamentally alters the environment in which officers work. In summary this chapter has made the argument that the pace and magnitude of change in the policing context now creates a fundamentally different environment in which officers operate, has challenged elements of traditional police culture and creates a fundamentally altered climate in which officers now go about their jobs. The previous chapter established the superiority of Kahn's (1990) theory of engagement. This chapter provides the context in which Kahn's (1990) model must be viewed and highlights the fundamental austerity change impact which is expected to render Kahn's (1990) model insufficient to properly account for some material job resource factors in the policing context.

#### **4.0 – Methods, Methodology and the problems with management knowledge**

This chapter catalogues the methods of research and methodological positions chosen for this study and crucially the rationale for those choices. This begins with an examination of some of the problems with knowledge building in the social and management sciences and the nature of this research project as a professional doctorate in business administration. Critical realism is espoused as a philosophical paradigm which straddles the positivist-interpretivist chasm, and a position which allows knowledge and theory building of a nature particularly appropriate to the subject matter of engagement in the police service. The chapter re-states the specific research aims for the work and why they are appropriate to both the philosophical position and method selection. The issue of ethics and ethical approval is then examined, including a key issue regarding the status of the researcher within a hierarchically aware organisation. The selection of research methods under the case study umbrella is then described, alongside the argument that multiple method triangulation is a manifestation of critical realist retrodution. Methodological principles for critical realist case study design (Wynn and Williams, 2012, p. 796) and case study methods (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 533, Yin, 2014, p. 118) are positioned as a powerful coupling of philosophy and practice which allow for the development of high quality findings. Lastly and importantly the chapter will describe the retroductive data analysis phase and how theory and philosophical paradigm have been used to frame the analysis and ultimately allow triangulation between themes and cases to form key findings.

Commentators have reported on the problems of ontology in management research, particularly its “fragmented and divergent nature” (Tranfield, Denyer and Smart, 2003, p. 211). That is to say problems about perceptions of what there is to know, and what actually exists to be known in the management environment. Scholars (Tsoukas, 1994, p. 761) have pointed to a number of probable reasons for this including the diversity of the subject field including the problems studied and also the diversity of the researchers engaged in that study including academics, consultants and practitioners. In forming knowledge which exhibits both rigour and relevance (Aram and Salipante, 2003, p. 190) a stance on what exists to be known (ontology) and how that knowledge may be known and validated (epistemology) are necessary. The study for a professional doctorate in business administration seeks to coordinate the development of expert knowledge and the application of that expertise to the practice setting (Lee, 2009, p. 6) and as such the adoption of a methodological position which is able to deliver both academic knowledge and practical enhancement is crucial. The simple assertion that concepts of ‘employee engagement’ or ‘police culture’ or ‘organisation’ exist carries philosophic weight. Do we mean, in a positivist manner, that there is an empirically observable entity which we can label as ‘employee

engagement’ and to which we can return time and again to study its objective properties? Or do we mean, in a subjectivist/social constructionist manner, that there is nothing more than social discourse about employee engagement, and that all that can be concluded is relative to that text, to that social context? Neither of these paradigms seems appropriate, there being something more ontologically that we need to ascribe a concept beyond its lingual existence in context, yet a complex explanatory theory such as employee engagement does not have the same scientific reductionist qualities of the proverbial apple dropping from the tree under the laws of gravitation. In essence we need something in between, a stratified reality. Wikgren (2005, p. 13) positions critical realism as an approach of growing interest for information systems in business and as a possible bridge for this ontological problem. As will be examined in the following section, critical realism is a paradigm both capable and particularly suited to the investigation of employee engagement (and other similar management contexts) because of the stratified nature of the knowledge it permits and its central process of retrodution.

#### **4.1 – The Philosophical Paradigm**

The choice or belief in a particular research methodology is often expressed in terms of a polarised view both ontologically and epistemologically between the broad positions of positivism or interpretivism/subjectivism. Below this dichotomy is a choice between research methods, some of which are often argued to correlate more closely with a particular philosophical paradigm. Danermark et al. (2002, p. 39) position critical realism describing the theory’s belief in a reality independent of human knowledge of it, but a simultaneous belief in science/social sciences’ ability to obtain knowledge of that reality through the interpretative prism of the observer and through the application of theorising and abstraction. Sayer (2004, p. 6) argues that “critical philosophy offers an alternative both to the spurious scientificity of positivism and to idealist and relativist reactions to positivism”. In essence, whilst not pragmatic in a philosophical sense the theory treads the dual ground which argues that there is a reality to know which is real and independent of those observing it, but dependent on theoretical retrodution of the observer to understand the deeper dimensions of what is really going on in context. Of course, this is particularly relevant to complex organisational and social interactions, and the sort of embedded contextualised issues with which professional doctorate study is centrally concerned.

As opposed to a dichotomous view of subjective-objective poles, critical realism views reality as exhibiting stratification whereby concepts which make a difference in their own right emerge when that concept has the ability to explain/account for the existence of lower level parts (O’Mahoney and Vincent, 2014, p. 7). Citing Archer, (1998) Wikgren (2005, p. 19)

describes this stratification between (a) pre-existent structures, (b) interplay with other objects which possess causal powers, and (c) outcomes which are not predictable but explicable through understanding of the interactions between (a) and (b). Critical realism is interested in the intermediate level of analysis (Reed, 2005a, p. 1635), located between “large scale social processes and smaller-scale, micro level situations and encounters”. The actors within this intermediate level are human beings (Wikgren’s (2005) other objects: ‘b’) and social structures (Wikgren’s (2005) pre-existent structures: ‘a’), both have ontological existence, but of different kinds, i.e the structure/agency problem. Citing Lopez and Potter, (2001) Reed (2005a, p. 1633) describes how human beings and social structures are the two prime objects of knowledge for social science. Reed states (2005a, p. 1633) that neither should be reduced into the other and “the solution to the structure/agency problem, then, involves a commitment to the reality of social structures, conceived as relations between social agents in virtue of their occupancy of social positions”. Roberts (2014, p. 5) explains this point by example suggesting that “the education social structure, for example, exists through a system of human relations based around, in part, its causal power to bestow certain types of knowledge to pupils and articulate a set of values”. The realm in which human beings and social structures interact is the intermediate level and it is this level at which critical realist study is focused.

Having answered the ontological question of ‘what is there to know?’ by means of the interaction of human beings and social structures within the intermediate level, the critical realist must then answer the epistemological question of ‘how can it be discovered?’ Bhaskar (the seminal critical realist author) and Lawson (1998, p. 6) argue that if committed to a philosophy of science which ascribes a stratified and differentiated reality then it is clear that knowledge of that reality cannot be achieved through direct observation alone. The answer to this conundrum comes in the critical realist retroductive method. Danermark et al. (2002, p. 82-96) describe the epistemological tools of deduction, induction, abduction and retroduction. Deductive inference is drawn when “conclusions follow in a strictly logical way from given premises” (Danermark et al., 2002, p. 82). This means that hypotheses are tested on a representative sample which are then extended to a larger population. Inductive inferences are those where the conclusion does not flow from the premises because the conclusion includes the addition of new knowledge (Danermark et al., 2002, p. 85). That is to say, a probability that new findings from one case setting are likely to be more widely valid and applicable in other case settings. Retroduction and its associate abduction require the ontological acceptance of human beings and social structures. Chiasson (2005, p. 240) defines abduction as an inferencing method under the overarching method of retroductive reasoning. Knowledge of social reality resides in the stratified interplay in the intermediate

level between human beings and social structures. “Knowledge of this social reality can only be attained if we go beyond what is empirically observable by asking questions about and developing concepts of the more fundamental, transfactual conditions for events and phenomena under study” (Danermark et al. 2002, p. 96). As such retrodution comes from the transcendence beyond the observed events to the interplay between human beings and social structures to allow theoretic construction of stratified explanations for what is observed. In retrodution the critical realist asks the question “what, if it existed, would account for this phenomena?” (Reed, 2005a, p. 1631).

This study is interested in the interplay between human beings in the social constructs of the policing organisation and police culture, asking the question of whether theories of engagement (if they exist) would account for what is observed and, if not engagement, then what would account for the interplay detected at the intermediate level. By observing, questioning and analysing, critical realism prompts us to ask what would account for the observed phenomena, and whether theoretic frames from literature provide sufficient explanatory power to allow us to advance to a conceptualisation of the social reality. Importantly for critical realists, however, explanations of any given social reality are “temporally and spatial located in historical settings that makes them fallible, contested and revisable” (Reed, 2005a. p. 1632). This is not to fall into the social constructionist view of the world reduced to the texts of social actors, but allows a more complete explanation of the “highly complex ‘compound effects” (Reed, 2005a, p. 1631) of phenomena in context with which positivism struggles. For a complex social construct such as employee engagement, a theory which ascribes a reality to a social construct such as ‘the organisation’, yet prompts further investigation and theoretical application to properly identify what is not readily observable about such a concept and its interaction with human beings in the intermediate level is both theoretically sound and pragmatically applicable to the specific research field. Critical realism also appears to avoid the polarised debate surrounding quantitative vs qualitative research both in terms of what Howe (1992, p. 237) describes as issues of research design and data collection but also epistemological paradigms. It does this by focusing on the question of how methodology can deliver knowledge about the generative mechanisms of a social research setting.

Critical realism, is not however, without its opponents. Amongst a number of objections to Reed’s (2005a) paper, Contu and Willmott’s (2005) main objection is to critical realism’s ontological positioning and its transcendental retroductive method. Contu and Willmott (2005, p. 1648-1650) highlight what they see as an ontological logical inability for critical realism to both reject positivist ontological positions, yet simultaneously assert a stratified world in the manner in which they do. Their inference is that if positivism is rejected then

there is no way of being sure if the critical realist ontology is true or not. They continue that because retrodution is neither deductive nor inductive, it cannot provide “basis for anything that is necessary or universal” (Contu and Willmott, 2005, p. 1650). Reed (2005b, p. 1665) aptly negotiates this debate, reframing the philosophic position of science to the provision of a “basis for adjudication between rival explanatory accounts of real world objects, things and processes” effectively conceding that the critical realist view of science cannot “provide an absolute and universal guarantor of anything”. Reed is effectively resetting the benchmark of ontological acceptance of what counts as knowledge. In respect of the epistemological question of retrodution Reed (2005b, p. 1666) simply points to the “epistemic fallacy of reducing ontological axioms to epistemological conventions”. What Reed (2005b, p.1666-1667) means by this is that by refuting critical realism’s ontological position Contu and Willmott (2005) are simply guilty of failing to engage in the actual ontological debate by resting on an epistemological proposition defined by a discursive interpretation of reality.

## **4.2 – Research Objectives**

This research has two essential research objectives which are focused upon understanding the intermediate level of interaction between human beings (police officers in this case setting) and social constructs (police organisation and culture), exploring what accounts for what is observed, and whether engagement theories allow us to transcend those observations and allow retrodution of new knowledge. The research is focused on the intensive process of interplay between objects and outcomes in demonstrating an emergent explanation of how police culture and engagement interact. This aim is encapsulated in two research objectives:

- 1 – How can revisions of Kahn’s (1990) theories of psychological preconditions of engagement, improve our understanding of employee engagement in UK policing?
- 2 – How can the application of theoretical models of employee engagement assist in the optimisation of a climate of engagement in a rapidly changing organisational and political policing context?

Objective one is related to the theoretical nature of doctoral research and seeks to define the work’s theoretical contribution in terms of interplay between Kahn’s (1990) psychological preconditions to engagement and police culture, asking what is additionally required of Kahn’s (1990) theory in the police context. This objective is important because it seeks to explore Kahn’s (1990) theory of preconditions to engagement in a highly contextualised environment, quite different in occupational feel to the summer camp and architectural firm in which Kahn’s (1990) research was conducted. The objective juxtaposes the theory of

engagement, a development in positive psychology, against the backdrop of police culture, a concept widely regarded as negative examining “problematic areas of policing and police behaviour” (Cockcroft, 2013, p. 1). The juxtaposition suggests that police ought to be tainted by disengagement, which has implications for how such a crucial public service is discharged, clearly an important area of research. The relationship between Kahn’s (1990) psychological preconditions to engagement and police culture has also not been previously examined in this way.

The second objective relates to the organisational/practical nature of the professional doctorate’s aim to develop knowledge in practice. This objective asks for the extrapolation of the knowledge gained through pursuit of objective one and its application to the issue of creating a climate in which police officers can give fully of themselves in the work place. In Kahn’s (1990) terms climate means psychological preconditions, hence the objective is asking for the definition of a set of psychological preconditions which an organisation could specify as an aspirational standard for its workplace. Climate is, however, slightly wider than focus on psychological preconditions alone and allows for the admission of other factors outside of the purely psychological. Whilst it could be argued that ultimately all external factors must be distilled into the psychological at the point of their effect on personal engagement, the wider question of climate is still preferred. This is because it is important to recognise that some external factors may play a role which is overwhelming in effect upon the work environment to the extent that the subtleties of lesser psychological interactions become less relevant. If such external factors were identified it is important to recognise those factors in their own right, particularly in pursuit of a pragmatic organisational doctrine.

Collectively the two research objectives seek to provide both a theoretical contribution to the understanding of engagement in the context of UK policing, and also a more pragmatic blueprint for the climate of engagement necessary for police officers to give of their best in UK policing. The scope and generalisability of the research aims are limited to analytic as opposed to statistical by the specific methods selected and are discussed later in this chapter. The means by which new knowledge will be added is critical realist retroduction by means of multi-method case study which is now explored in more detail.

### **4.3 – Research Methods**

The research objectives of this study will be met through the selection of a case study design contrasting experiences within two UK county police forces (Eastshire and Westshire).<sup>1</sup> The following section covers issues of the research traditions within both employee engagement

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<sup>1</sup> A third county ‘Northshire’ was scoped, but practical restrictions prevented inclusion.

and police cultural research, therefore, the suitability of case design to the research setting, the specific methods of data collection within the case study and finally the methodological challenges such an approach must bridge.

#### **4.3.1 – The tradition of employee engagement research**

Engagement commentators have created tabulated taxonomies of different engagement theories/articles including the research methods/instruments used. In 2009 Simpson (p. 1014) considered twenty such articles of which 95% involved quantitative research with a predominance of path analysis, structural equation modelling, and regression analysis. In conducting the early literature search for this research project, twenty two articles were considered (Appendix A), of which some 81 per cent of primary data studies involved quantitative research, again with a predominance of questionnaire usage. It is fair to say that the majority of engagement research to date has been conducted in the quantitative tradition, generally using a questionnaire and often using one of the previously validated questionnaires on the market, namely the Q12, the UWES or the Maslach Burnout Inventory/MBI. The reasons for this quantitative tendency may be twofold, both related to the research instruments. Firstly, research based on already defined research instruments may simply be easier to do, it avoids the issue of factor validation and provides the researcher a ready made vehicle for research. What can be seen in the literature is a preference for the application of existing models to antecedent states or outcomes. Secondly and related, research has certainly overlapped with consultancy and organisational HRM. The effect of this has been a quest to devise mass market survey instruments which can be delivered across large corporations. In both circumstances the overlap between consultancy and academia may well have influenced research preference for positivist and quantitative studies at the expense of the explanatory power and depth afforded by other approaches.

Kahn (1990) is one of the few who conducted work in a different tradition. Kahn's (1990) work has been variously described as grounded theory (Simpson, 2009, p. 1018, Shuck, Rocco, Albornoz, 2011, p. 302) and ethnography (Shuck, 2011, p. 307). Kahn's (1990) method actually involved a combination of qualitative data collection methods (observation, document analysis, self-reflection and in-depth interviewing) as both a participant and observer in two different settings (summer camp and architect's firm). The emergent themes identified inductively through transcription of the summer camp scripts were then used as an analysis frame in the architect firm. Following completion of the study in the architect's firm the data was then reassessed with an emergent set of categories and concepts. Post-data collection Kahn (1990, p. 690) then developed a statistical test, not designed to provide a statistical test of the model but to formulate its construction and help identify to what extent



each of the three psychological preconditions were present or absent in examples of engagement and disengagement from the empirical data.

Perhaps what is most significant in Kahn's (1990) methodology is its initial reliance upon qualitative methods and the wealth of high quality data which ensued and allowed Kahn to inductively develop theory. This is interesting in its comparison with many of the other engagement theorists who have operated in a predominantly quantitative manner, with significant usage of questionnaire instruments utilising a deductive model. The interest lies in the apparent gulf between the high quality of theory which has been developed in the qualitative tradition by Kahn (1990) compared to the "slippery" (Schaufeli and Salanova, 2011) conceptualisations which have developed from the quantitative tradition. Whilst this research project will not reproduce Kahn's (1990) induction, the adoption of critical realist retrodution provides other benefits. The methodology allows benefit from the strong conceptual foundation laid by Kahn (1990). Additionally using a range of qualitative methods within a triangulated case study design presents a compelling probability of producing high quality data, not of a manner able to deliver statistically repeatable generalisations, rather of delivering a view of the social reality in context. In essence, the adoption of qualitative methods within this research paradigm offers similar opportunities to Kahn's (1990) original research, and importantly different and deeper understanding than much of the positivist work has delivered in recent times.

#### **4.3.2 – The tradition of police culture research**

Whilst the tradition of employee engagement has been driven strongly by positivist and quantitative thought in the last 20 years, the background of police cultural research is more historic, rooted in sociological approaches reaching back to the 1960s and 1970s (Stenning, 2009, p. 916). This traditional approach reaches back to works such as Niederhoffer's (1967) classic on police cynicism, (a concept still widely acknowledged today, Reiner, 2010, Hickman, Piquero, Piquero, 2004) and a set of "universally shared attitudes, values and norms that officers use to cope with the strains encountered during their interactions" which are largely based on foundational ethnographic accounts of policing (Ingram, Paoline III, Terrill, 2013, p. 367). Many of these traditional themes are continued in more recent ethnographic studies such as Loftus (2009, 2010) who ultimately supports the view of some enduring singly displayed cultural norms.

More recent pluralist accounts of police literature argue for a more nuanced view of policing. Cockcroft (2013, p. 32-45) specifically cites the work of Chan (1997) and Waddington (1999b) highlighting the respective claims for greater pluralism in accounting for police culture and of the difference in meaning between what officers express and what they do.

Ultimately Cockcroft (2013, p. 45) prompts us to consider the more complex pluralistic relationship between policing and the wider societal context.

Whilst there are essentially two umbrella schools of thought in police culture (classic and pluralistic views), both agree on the methodological value of ethnographic research. Waddington (1999b) concludes that if we are to truly understand police behaviour then we should focus on how officers act, rather than what they say, indirectly supporting the value of observational or ethnographic research. Loftus (2009, p. 201) points to ethnography's ability to "access the inner world of policing" whilst Cockcroft (2013, p. 147) suggests that the "sheer depth of understanding that emerges from such research would provide a welcome addition to our knowledge of contemporary police work". In essence, ethnographic research is both a method which has been historically well used in the study of police culture and one which is contemporarily supported. When compared with the methodological factors considered by Kahn's (1990) ethnographic focus comparative to the weight of quantitative work in the engagement field, the usage of ethnographic observations to study both employee engagement and police culture as one data collection method within an overarching case study design is a compelling proposition.

#### **4.3.3 – Meeting the research objectives using a case study design**

As previously highlighted, it is not possible to simultaneously work in an inductive manner, as did Kahn (1990), and also benefit from the theoretical frame he developed. In the case of Kahn's (1990) research, however, what is most intriguing is the possibility that his frame of psychological pre-conditions provides a blueprint for the creation of an organisational climate for engagement. Interpreting the complexity of what is really going on within this climate is the key benefit which critical realism holds over other research paradigms relative to the specified research aims. Easton (2010, p. 123) argues for the applicability of case study research and its ability to deliver knowledge within a critical realist philosophy commenting that a "critical realist case approach is particularly well suited to relatively clearly bounded but complex phenomena such as organisations, inter-organisational relationships or nets of connected organisations". As Easton (2010, p. 120) describes, critical realism proposes an ontology assuming a reality independent of its observers, but also socially constructed such that the underlying reality is sometimes able to break through the complex social explanations we create. Thus the linkage between case study design and critical realism are natural and able to deliver knowledge in the arena of this research project.

As described by Johnston, Leach and Liu (1999, p. 205) the form of data generalisability sought from case study research is not statistical in nature and sample selection cannot be conceived as equivalent to random sample selection as for a positivist survey design. Rather

the case selection is based on replication, not sampling logic. As such the combination of Eastshire as a force which has invested heavily in employee engagement programmes matched with Westshire which is expected to show contrasting data by virtue of its far less progressed employee engagement programmes is purposeful and designed to improve overall analytic generalisability. Tsang (2013, p. 183) recognises the explicit advantages of case studies in creating generalisable conclusions within a critical realist philosophy, stating that “critical realism recognises the role of case study research in empirical generalisation, theoretical generalisation and theory testing”. Indeed Wynn & Williams (2012, p. 795) argue that case study research is superior to other methods in uncovering “causal mechanisms and contextual factors that combined to create them” within a critical realist research paradigm. Creating the conditions for what Gerring (2008, p. 97) describes as a diverse case model involving at least two cases this study seeks to achieve variance along relevant dimensions, namely the anticipated conditions for engaged police officers in each organisation. A case study within these two expectedly different organisations is designed to emulate the best of Kahn’s (1990) data collection methods, namely observation, document analysis, self-reflection and in-depth interviewing combined with the ethnographic focus preferred in police cultural studies.

In providing a definition of case study research Yin (2014, p. 16) uses a two part approach, the first of which identifies the scope of a case study stating, “A case study is an empirical inquiry that; investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the “case”) in depth and within its real-world context, especially when, the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident”, and the second of which defines the methodological characteristics of the study including the logic of design, data collection and analysis techniques. These techniques (Yin, 2014, p. 17) include reliance on multiple sources of evidence with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion and an approach which benefits from the prior development of theoretical proposition to guide data collection and analysis. This perspective is aligned with the demands of a critical realist philosophy. As Wynn and Williams (2012, p. 803) indicate multiple viewpoints help to overcome perceptual limitations in pursuit of critical realism’s principles of “mediated knowledge, unobservability, and the possibility of multiple mechanisms”. This approach encapsulates exactly the research proposition, namely an existing theoretical proposition surrounding Kahn’s (1990) psychological preconditions and the police cultural factors expected to influence their fulfilment and the setting which is both highly contemporary and as with many social science issues exhibits tightly meshed context and phenomena.

#### **4.3.4 – Data collection methods within the case study**

Wynn and Williams (2012, p. 796) describe five principles for conducting critical realist case study research, including explication of events, explication of structure and context, retrodution, empirical corroboration and triangulation and multiple methods. These principles can be seen as a frame for this research project which has four distinct data sources, namely documentary, archival, interview and (participant) observation. The principles which Wynn and Williams (2012, p. 796) describe are not steps in the research process, but iterative considerations throughout the process and were employed throughout the research project. Mirroring Kahn's (1990, p. 695) methodology, observations were conducted in the research settings and similar to Kahn, those observations involved both times when the researcher became a participant, and others when the researcher was playing more of a non-participant role. Observations took place between the 4th of July 2013 and 2nd of January 2014 and took place in three frontline response/patrol teams within the two counties. In Westshire, the selection of team was negotiated with senior managers, however, teams were of sufficient size (fifteen to twenty officers) to necessitate only one team, whilst in Eastshire teams were much smaller (seven to ten officers) dictating two teams. The size of team was important for the later stages of the project and interview, for which data saturation was an objective. Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006, p. 74) have suggested that data saturation naturally occurs within analysis of twelve interviews, hence ensuring that the total study had access to a pool significantly greater than twelve was important to provide a high chance of achieving data saturation. Each officer was allocated a pseudonym alphabetic identifier, there being a total of twenty interview respondents. The first character is an individual identifier, whilst the second is an organisational identifier, organisational identifiers being either "E" – Eastshire or "W" – Westshire. Working with the three identified teams across the two organisations provided a total pool of some thirty to forty officers, hence, even with exclusion due to the informed consent process and unforeseen circumstances the case settings provided a high chance of achieving sufficient participants to meet the research objectives. Statistical generalisability was not a research aim, the project neither involves statistical analysis nor sits within a philosophical research paradigm which requires positivist information. Consequently non-statistical sample selection of this nature is appropriate to the research paradigm and objectives.

Approximately eighty total hours of observations were conducted, which involved the author going out with patrol officers as they went about their business. A simultaneous ethical and practical dilemma presented itself here, in the suitability and selection of observer to conduct the observations. Whilst conducting ethnographic research within Indian policing Belur (2014, p. 185) concluded that whilst "researcher gender and age do influence the research

process, it is proposed that status dominates power negotiations in hierarchical organisations". As a mid-ranking police manager (Chief Inspector) Belur's (2014) observation was highly relevant in that the researcher conducting the observations and later interviews himself ran the risk of intimidating respondents and warping/curtailing the legitimacy of the responses. This tension was expressed by the research subjects:

You made it clear on that day that you were Nick and not working, but we were aware you were a Chief Inspector, we're not going to forget about it. It didn't bother me, I was happy to do things in the way I always do things and say things that I always say. (Officer AE)

Conversely appointing an outsider to conduct the observations and interviews on the researcher's behalf presented practical issues (from where to source researcher, additional access, sufficient background knowledge) and risked the nuance of a given incident being missed. Ultimately the philosophical paradigm provided guidance in this area, in critical realism's focus on explaining the emergence of different strata of explanations. It became apparent that the author's simultaneous knowledge of the research settings (through work within them) and acquired academic familiarity with the concepts in question was a crucial facilitating factor in allowing the strata of explanation be properly conceived. Crucially a difference between Belur's (2014) research setting and this study was geography, with Belur conducting her research in India where "it is expected that subordinate officers generally conform to what senior officers want to hear" (Belur, 2014, p. 192). That same level of subordination and hierarchical deference is not such a feature of British policing culture indeed the cultural distrust of leadership (Villiers, 2003, p. 31) within the British context has already been commented upon. Research subjects reported doing things as normal:

It was good, we just carried on and got on with things as normal (Officer GE)

As such the decision for the author to conduct the observations and interviews himself was a natural one raising the practical problem of how to relax respondents and gain sufficient rapport and trust. Additionally Vandenberg and Hall (2011, p. 29) have suggested reflexivity regarding a researcher's own views and beliefs throughout the research process as a means of avoiding research bias. In a practical manner this was achieved by distinguishing between factual observations and author reflections in the field diary by using different coloured pens (see appendix I).

Observations were conducted by the author in plain clothes but with some personal protective equipment (PPE). Prior to starting work with any team the author explained the purpose of the study, emphasising not the author's work position as a Chief Inspector, but

his position for that purpose as a student. This explanation included the respondent's right not to be involved and the informed consent process, alongside the issue of information and consent forms (appendix C). The purpose of being in plain clothes was not to deceive research subjects (the author's occupational position was made clear), but to distance the author from his occupational role for the purpose of the research. This seemed to have the desired impact:

Initially we were a little wary, but you impressed it on us that you wanted us to treat you as a researcher not our boss. I think we were relatively honest and I felt comfortable that it wasn't going to go back to work and have an effect on us at work.  
(Officer LE)

An important methodological point to be made regarding research in an organisation with high levels of organisational identity such as the police service is the issue of insider/outside acceptance. Working in a similarly occupational environment (nursing) Simmons (2007) conducted research within her own organisation (NHS) as head of education and workforce development, a power/status dynamic not dissimilar to that between the author (Chief Inspector) and Constable/Sergeant research subjects. Simmons (2007, p. 11) comments on techniques which helped her achieve the perspective of insider so crucial to participant observation, including the completion of simple tasks on behalf of the research subjects whilst generally maintaining passive observation. The author's occupational role as a trained police officer, and the wearing of personal protective equipment allowed the author to do very similar, taking part in such tasks as the monitoring of arrested subjects whilst the officer completed a different task, the searching of a subject, and the driving of a subject's vehicle to a police station. None of these tasks were significant in their own right, but allowed the author to be immersed into the team and to share in some of the collective endeavour involved in achieving a given objective. This integration process, therefore, effectively had two major components. Firstly already being a police officer (even though a more senior rank) provided some immediate affinity between the researcher and the subjects. Unlike the military, other international police forces or organisations in the British Police the absolute majority of officers start as Constables and work their way up from grass roots. This provides an immediate level of empathy. Secondly, being a police officer allowed the researcher to take part in tasks requiring policing powers and experience, such that the researcher was able to be of some operational use to the research subject.

This is a very important methodological observation for consideration of research within the policing environment. Whilst Cockcroft (2013) and Loftus (2009) agree on the importance of ethnographic research within policing, Loftus (2009, p. 202-209) highlights a whole range of

obstacles she encountered in moving past her outsider status. Indeed she (Loftus, 2009, p. 202-209) highlights a number of similarity factors (interest in running, ethnicity, working class background) which provided her some anchor with those she was observing and some difference factors (vegetarian, non-drinker) which further isolated her from the research subjects. Compared to the hurdles Loftus (2009) describes in overcoming her outsider status, the author's experiences from the starting point of insider highlight the immediate advantage of conducting research within an existing environment even if so doing causes other issues that must be overcome (rank). The advantages appear to clearly outweigh the disadvantages, particularly in an occupational culture such as policing. Arguably not having to overcome the outsider/insider hurdle also both speeds the research process, and increases its validity as interpretations are based on a far greater depth of organisational understanding. When searching for the critical realist meaning between different strata of explanation this depth of understanding is crucial.

All ethnography, however, must take account of the reflexive quality of the research practice. The researcher and their prior experiences, beliefs and knowledge are key components of the interpretations they place on what they see in front of them. Indeed these factors impinge upon what is even recognised, recorded and commented upon. During the observation phase, in order to explicitly draw on this knowledge, an effective theoretical crib-sheet was used highlighting the issues encountered during the literature research and therefore to specifically look out for. The author's field diary for this project is, therefore, a subjective interpretation of the events observed during the time spent in the field. This is acknowledged, however, the point being made is that it is exactly this experience, belief and use of previous theory which provides greater explanatory familiarity and validity in these circumstances. This would not have been achieved by an observer without that familiarity and for whom gaining insider status was a task in its own right.

The next stage of the research involved preparation for in-depth semi-structured interviews. Following completion of the observation phase, initial analysis was conducted to identify themes emerging from the data. This process formed an initial step in critical realist retrodution, moving beyond the specific "to another, hence generating an explanation that embraces ontological depth" (Downward and Mearman, 2007, p. 88). Immediately, because of the theoretical frame used as a prompt during the observations, a division of themes along the lines of Kahn's (1990) psychological preconditions was evident, as was anticipated in chapter two. This frame brought theoretical consistency throughout the whole research phase. During the observations, however, in addition to Kahn's (1990) psychological preconditions of safety, availability and meaningfulness a strong emphasis on job resources was also evident. Consequently an interview schedule was drafted with questions focused

on Kahn's (1990) psychological preconditions of safety, availability and meaningfulness, alongside job resources and an initial 'ice-breaker' question focused on how the subjects had found the research process. This draft schedule was refined through pilots with colleagues and research supervisors, involving mock interviews and refinement of interview questions.

Once the schedule was finalised, interviews took place between January and March 2014. Quiet offices were identified in which to conduct the interviews. Time was negotiated with the officers' supervisors for them to take a short period from their working day to be involved, and officers were asked to turn off radios and mobile phones. A total of 20 interviews, (see appendix J for illustrative example of interview data) lasting approximately 30 minutes each were conducted and audio recorded. Demographic data was not specifically recorded for the sample as statistical generalisation was not sought from the study, however, the observed characteristics of the sample were as follows:

Ethnicity	Rank	Sex	Estimated Age
15% BME	10% Sergeant	20% Female	55% - 20-30years
85% White	90% Constable	80% Male	35% - 30-40years
			15% - 40-50years

Figure 4 – Table of observed interview respondent characteristics

It immediately became clear that some officers appeared far less open in a recorded interview environment than they had done when speaking with them during the observation phase. Of significant note was an Asian Muslim officer who had reported instances of extreme racism to me whilst we had been out together, yet when questioned about the conditions which made him feel psychologically safe or unsafe within his working environment made no reference to the issues he had previously disclosed. It appeared that for some people, environmental factors of the interview did not allow them to provide as great a breadth of information as they had done when being observed. This finding is attuned with Broom, Hand and Tovey (2009, p. 61) who recognised a wide range of factors including interview environment, researcher biography and participant psychological state that could affect interviewee response. This factor is important in justifying the use of multiple sources of data within the case study. Had single methods been selected it is apparent that the richness of the data would have been compromised.

The final stage of data capture was by means of archival and documentary capture. This was primarily conducted in June and July 2014. This process involved an intranet search of both Eastshire and Westshire's intranet sites seeking documents such as leadership



charters, policies, staff support information, and organisational mission statements. This part of the process was conducted last in order to provide triangulation between employee and organisational representations and allow the author to reflect upon the observations and interviews in comparison with the organisational stance in published data. All of the documents assessed were detailed within a case study database. The case study database is one of Yin's (2014, p. 118) four principles of data collection and provides a single source of evidence to which a future researcher could turn, much like a quantitative researcher could turn to the raw numeric data upon which correlations were based. The database also provides a clear chain of evidence so that reliability is increased and a future researcher is able to "follow the derivation of any evidence from initial research questions to ultimate case study conclusions" (Yin, 2014, p. 127). Documentary and archival data were important as they provided the organisational position which was clearly missing from observations and interviews. The data crucially provided balance and completed the data capture in a way to allow an holistic understanding of each case setting, which examination of any one data source in isolation would have missed.

#### **4.3.5 – Overcoming method and methodological challenge**

Both critical realism (methodology) and case study (method) have fundamental opponents, yet combined present a compelling ontological and epistemological power. As Zachariadis et al. (2013, p. 863) comment because of critical realism's belief that social reality is subject to geographic and historical conditions, an intensive method such as a case study or ethnography is more "capable of describing a phenomenon, constructing propositions (or hypothesising) and identifying structures and interactions between complex mechanisms". Adopting an appropriate range of methodological principles (Wynn and Williams, 2012, p. 796) alongside the practical steps associated with method also provide for stronger conclusions.

Woodside (2010, p. 65) summarises four key criticisms of case study methodology. Firstly case studies are criticised for not having explicit identifiable steps which create and test theory and that inductive theory building is unsound. This criticism is more accurately a criticism of inductive theory building in general. Crucially critical realism does not rest upon induction, but retroduction with commentators having developed specific steps to theory building. Wynn and Williams (2012, p. 796) propose a series of methodological principles for the conduct of critical realist case studies, including explication of events, explication of structure and content, retroduction, empirical corroboration, triangulation and multi methods. Wynn and Williams (2012, p. 796) do not propose that these principles provide a step by step procedure, rather the principles are interdependent at all stages of the research project,

but crucially they do provide a set of principles for the creation and assessment of theory. To complement their work, Eisenhardt (1989, p. 533) does provide a step by step approach leading from 'getting started' to 'reaching closure' with a set of practical approaches in between. In summary it is clear that a process of both epistemological theory testing and sequence of practical case study steps are apparent.

Secondly, Woodside (2010) identifies the common criticism surrounding the generalisability of results beyond the case in question. In many ways the answer to this challenge lies in the differing epistemological beliefs of theorists and their perceptions of what amounts to good knowledge. The critical realist case study absolutely does not deliver knowledge in the tradition of statistical generalisability and to think of a case study case in the same terms of a single unit within a random sample design is fallacious. The case study seeks an in-depth holistic understanding of a contemporary complex phenomena, and is not suited to examination of correlation analysis. Tsang argues for both the merits of case studies over quantitative methods in delivering theoretical generalisation, the identification of disconfirming cases and the provision of information for assessing empirical generalisability (2014, p. 379) and also how critical realism provides a platform for case studies to provide a comprehensive theory development through empirical and theoretical generalisability and theory testing (2014, p 185). This study used the specific dynamics of Eastshire constabulary (has invested in employee engagement programmes) as a diverse case to Westshire (has not invested in employee engagement programmes) to develop knowledge which has value and analytic, rather than statistical generalisability. Eisenhardt (1989, p. 546) also comments on the strength of the approach in its likelihood of generating novel theory, which this study has arguably achieved.

Thirdly, Woodside (2010) points to the subjective interpretation of qualitative data by the case study researcher and how this devalues the objectivity of the research. As with much qualitative research this is a danger, and again is dependent on the philosophical tradition of the researcher in respect of an appropriate theory of knowledge. From a critical realist perspective, objectivity is important as there is a belief in objective reality, albeit the explanation of strata socially constructed. As such the use of theory in influencing research questions and creating an appropriate frame for analysis is crucial in showing that objective analysis, as is complying with Yin's (2014) four data collection principles. The utilisation of a set of appropriate and repeatable research practices as defined by Yin (2014) or Eisenhardt (1989) alongside a set of methodological principles as defined by Wynn and Williams (2012) are central factors in ensuring that case study research does have objective credibility and has been achieved in this case.

Lastly, Woodside (2010) comments on the challenges which case studies face in providing findings which are applicable and hold practical relevance in other contexts. Related to the issue of generalisability this critique is essentially related to the very contextual nature of a given case study and the usefulness of its findings outside of that context. This is of course where the prior theory and literature analysis is essential as it is this additional knowledge which provides the theoretical bridge to wider applicability. Also one must reflect on the specifics of the case in question. If the circumstances of the case are particularly unique (Cuban missile crisis) then the case study findings are also likely to be more limited, the case becoming an effective 'critical case'. The circumstances of this case study, however, employee engagement within UK policing are far less specific. Indeed there are forty three Home Office forces in England and Wales of which this study has focused upon two, hence some further forty one similar cases to which the theory may be applied. Whilst wider applicability is important, this research is written in the critical realist tradition which holds that our knowledge of the world is fallible, thus the critical realist essentially argues that a theory is relevant in other contexts until proved otherwise, but no more.

Thus in concluding consideration of research methods it can be seen that many of the criticism levied against case studies or critical realism as concepts in isolation are overcome through the application of case study method within a critical realist methodology. The work of Wynn and Williams (2012, p. 796) is particularly helpful in providing the methodological thread which is woven throughout the study, whilst the work of Yin (2014, p. 118) and the work of Eisenhardt (1989, p. 533) provide the steps involved in the actual method of doing case study research. Overarching consistency and validity has been aided by the strong theoretical map devised by Kahn (1990) which has been followed throughout the process and provides a consistent point of reference throughout the research.

#### **4.4 – Ethics**

Central to any research project is a thorough consideration of ethical issues, both in respect of organisations, the researcher, but most importantly the research subjects themselves. Lee (2009, p. 145) comments that "ethics and ethical practices must underpin all research: demonstrating that researchers undertake their work in a way that is open, honest and does no harm to the participants and others". Throughout the study ethical themes including consent, confidentiality, anonymity and organisational data were essential issues.

Organisational confidentiality was not sought and part of the agreement reached with senior officers in each force included the need to highlight findings from the organisation. Written consent was granted by the director of HR within Westshire and then Assistant Chief Constable (now Deputy Chief Constable) within Eastshire. Individual subject anonymity was

communicated through the informed consent process and an information sheet. The research is interested in the role of police officers fulfilling similar response roles in different organisations thus there is no need to identify from which area of the county, nor shift officers came. Copies of the signed consent form have been retained.

Lastly and importantly within the policing environment is the issue of organisational data and its storage. The police service is adept at the storage of sensitive documentation and existing practices under the Government Protected Marking Scheme (GPMS) and Data Protection Act for the storage and retention of data. Whilst not falling under GPMS upper sensitivity categories, data will be held in accordance with GPMS principles in locked cabinets in secure areas. Data and documents (field diary, consent forms) are retained to enable examiners or other interested parties access if required, but are retained in a secure manner. A case study database is an important element with data tracking in addition to its important methodological role and has been so employed. All electronic data are held on either corporate or password protected systems.

Finally in assessing ethical considerations, the research was subject to approval from the University of Portsmouth Ethics committee. This consent was formally granted in writing on 21<sup>st</sup> May 2013 under ethics application E243 (appendix B).

#### **4.5 – Retroductive analysis by mixed method triangulation**

Two of Wynn and Williams (2012, p. 796) key principles for critical realist case study research are retroduction and triangulation of multiple methods. Downward and Mearman (2007, p. 96) express their belief that mixed method triangulation can be viewed as the manifestation of critical realist retroduction, thus data source triangulation forms a crucial aspect of the analytic phase.

Data from each of the sources were received in differing formats. Data and archival material was already in written format. Following review of both force intranets the relevant document links were included within the case study database. Observational data were recorded in writing in a field diary within which factual observations were recorded in black and reflexive observations in red. Interview data were recorded in digital audio format, then listened to and partially transcribed using a themed frame to capture relevant data. This process then provided all data in a written format, able to be compared and contrasted. In essence this formed Wynn and Williams (2012, p. 796) “explication of events” process, whereby the aspects of the events being studied were identified.

Throughout the research project, Kahn's (1990) theory was the major theoretical frame. The theoretical frame, therefore employed throughout the data collection and analysis phase, was Kahn's (1990) psychological preconditions of safety, availability and meaningfulness. In conducting what Willig (2013, p. 57) describes as thematic analysis, however, Kahn's (1990) theoretical frame was not the only theme to emerge. The first stage in data analysis commenced following the observation phase in preparation of the interview schedule. This first analysis was in critical realist terms at the superficial level, seeking not to explore what was really going on, but merely to identify *prima facie* influences. It can be categorised as Wynn and Williams (2012, p. 798) process of explication of structure and context whereby "we identify those components of the structure, variations in contextual influences produced in open systems, and other potentially activated mechanisms which interact to produce the phenomena of interest". Following this analysis the resultant additional theme which was included in the interview schedule in addition to safety, availability and meaningfulness was the issue of job resources around which specific questions were included in the interview schedule.

Upon revisiting the data at the end of the process, the data were re-exposed to thematic analysis this time trying to seek "insight into the relationship between themes, their interconnections and implications" (Willig, 2013, p. 58), essentially searching for the stratified latent meaning which critical realism defines. The observation was therefore categorised by virtue of the research paradigm into the strata of the *prima facie* and latent interpreted underlying levels. In practical terms this was achieved by documents being created in each of the theoretical areas (safety/availability/meaningfulness/job resources/other). A line by line coding of observed issues was conducted such that the data were reorganised under each of the sub-themes. These initial themes were labelled as 'level 1' themes and represented what was immediately observable at the empirical level. These themes were then re-analysed searching for interconnection and latent underlying interpretation, searching for the answer to the critical realist question of 'what is really going on'? These latent themes were labelled level two themes and represent the foundation of the work's theoretical contribution.

In order to then draw key findings from the study, in accordance with Yin's (2014, p. 119) emphasis on data triangulation a summary triangulation document was created (appendix K). This triangulation document served to triangulate level 2 latent findings between both case settings and all data sources in a manner which allowed the key research issues to be readily observed in one place. This considerably aided the refinement of critical realist latent meaning as it provided a summary of all the key emergent themes at one glance such that the interconnection between the issues and case settings could be seen. It is at this level that retroduction by means of triangulation was properly engaged. This included both what

Downward and Mearman (2007, p. 81) describe as data triangulation (a number of data sources) and theoretical triangulation (features of employee engagement and police culture theory) as part of the retroductive method. Here, the theoretical frame provided by both Kahn's (1990) psychological preconditions and police cultural literature go a long way to fulfilling the study's obligation to consider rival explanations. The rigorous method applied to both data collection and analysis adds to the validity and generalisability of the data.

The formulation of the key theoretical findings and their application to practice was an iterative process throughout the study, but also a concluding one. The research's second objective was effectively to identify how theoretical models of engagement could assist in the optimisation of a climate of engagement in policing. This process was to some extent iterative and practical. Throughout the observation and interview stage, officers made reference, or the author reflected upon organisational changes that would appear to impact upon a specific dynamic under consideration. Such immediate considerations were recorded at the back of the field diary, then re-examined in light of the retroductive process to assess for theoretical fit.

#### **4.6 – Conclusions from method and methodology**

This chapter has charted some of the ontological and epistemological problems in management studies and how such issues can be overcome through the application of a critical realist research paradigm. Critical realism proposes a stratified reality for which the focus of study is the intermediate level within which human beings and social structures operate to create a definition of social reality which is fallible and geographically and historically bound. The theory is heralded as one which avoids the pitfalls associated with the historical dichotomy of research philosophy (positivist/interpretivist) and one that is particularly appropriate for a complex social phenomena such as the study of engagement in the context of UK policing. Case study method is positioned as a method closely linked with critical realism and mixed method triangulation within a case study design is suggested as an appropriate manifestation of critical realism's key tool, retroduction.

This combination of method and methodology is then applied to the research in context, and the appropriate methodological principles (Wynn and Williams, 2012, p. 796) are demonstrated in the research setting alongside application of appropriate method (Yin, 2014, 118, Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 533). The chapter describes development of the research objectives and an understanding of how a revision of Kahn's (1990) theory of engagement can assist our understanding of engagement in the police both theoretically and in application in creating an organisational climate of engagement. Having examined the historical research traditions of the employee engagement and police culture, the ethical

considerations for the research are considered, crucially evaluating the power dynamic of the author's position as a mid-ranking officer in a hierarchically aware organisational context. The chapter concludes by examining the analytic process and how critical realist retrodution has been achieved in practice.

## 5.0 – Findings

### 5.1 – Structure of this chapter

Downward and Mearman (2007, p. 96) position mixed method triangulation as a means of retrodution providing the basis upon which “different insights on the same phenomenon can be sensibly combined” and as such provide the appropriate critical realist vehicle for analysing the different forms of research data here. In conducting the analysis of the different forms of evidence selected for this study (observations, interviews and documentary), a degree of initial analysis of singular data streams was pragmatically necessary, however, as the study progressed across different data sources and in representing the findings it became possible to demonstrate a process of abstracting to a “clearer understanding of the casual factors and relationships” (Wynn and Williams, 2012, p. 803). A key tool in achieving this data triangulation to abstracted understanding is the table at appendix K (Case Study data triangulation) which was used throughout the deductive phase of research and analysis, using the theoretical base for the research and the application of a critical realist prism to distinguish between initial themes evident in the data and latent causal themes which underpin those positions. Whilst statistical generalisation is not sought, a good generalisation of prima facie observation frequency, can be identified from the interview data.

Kahn's (1990) thematic area	Number of identified sub-themes	Total number of observations in thematic area	Range of observations	Mean average of observations per sub-theme
Availability	31	92	1 to 7	2.96
Meaningfulness	26	72	1 to 7	2.77
Safety	26	63	1 to 5	2.42

(Figure 5 – Table of interview data sub-theme frequency)

The above table represents the frequency of initial observations/sub themes prior to any interpretation by way of retrodution. It provides good oversight of the overall positive volume of one of the data streams included in the overall retroductive triangulation process (appendix K). In presenting the findings for the study, the theoretical frame which has been applied throughout the work is used to structure this chapter, focusing on Kahn's (1990) psychological preconditions of availability, meaningfulness and safety, alongside the theme of job resources which became so prevalent throughout the observation phase. The key findings from both cases (Westshire and Eastshire) are presented together because for the majority of themes, findings from one case supported the other by means of confirmation.



The chapter concludes by identifying the differences which emerged between the two cases as identified in detail, particularly focusing on how those differences aid theoretical validity and generalisability in line with Gerring's (2008, p. 97) diverse case model.

## **5.2 – Availability**

### **5.2.1 – Availability – Physical Energy**

The relative presence or absence of a level of physical energy or capacity to engage in role behaviours was clearly observed in observational, interview and documentary analysis. Observationally this was primarily perceived in the negative dimension, namely some factor which was restricting an officer's physical energy. Examples include officers yawning during briefing on the third shift of a set, regular comments regarding low officer numbers and officers going for long periods of time without breaks for food or drink. Physical energy was recognised in both Eastshire and Westshire through the forces' investment in an 'Employee Assistance Programme' (EAP) which provides counselling and support services across a range of welfare issues. In essence the scheme recognises that in order to physically commit a range of welfare issues needs to be positively managed. The issue was perhaps most strongly observed through the interview phase in both Eastshire and Westshire. In Eastshire there was a general recognition of the importance of fulfilment of these basic welfare needs, an officer stating:

If I've had enough sleep and had good rest days I feel more positive. The first couple of shifts I'm more enthusiastic than the end shifts, on the last shift of the set you are a little work weary. (Officer LE)

This dynamic was more negative in Westshire with some polarised views of welfare provision and consequent inability to engage due to low energy levels, one officer stating:

Any officer would tell you that the current shift pattern is making everyone constantly knackered. I should have time to be genuinely on top of my sleeping patterns to not feel guilty of eating. That would help the organisation get more from us. The job is not trying to hide the fact that the current shift pattern should be run with 30/40 more officers than we have now. It could be justified in the short run but nothing is going to change and nothing has been done. More can be achieved should the basics be followed. Everyone seems knackered around here. I'm looking forward to going back to the tasking team as it means no nights and no weekends which is almost impossible to believe at the moment. We need a decent shift pattern and the time for

people to have a quick bite to eat. I think people would have more energy and be less tired. (Officer QW)

The strength of the view being expressed here is explicit and essentially references a structural job resources issue that has overwhelming effect on the workforce over time. The job resources issue, is not, however, the sense of physical energy itself. The two are theoretically separate, physical energy being the capacity within oneself to conduct activity in pursuit of an objective, whilst job resources are those “physical, psychological, social or organisational aspect of the job that either; reduce job demands and associated physiological and psychological costs; are functional in achieving work goals; stimulate personal growth, learning and development” (Schaufeli and Bakker, 2004, p. 296). The distinction being made here is that there is something, namely job resources, and in this case apparent officer numbers and shifts, which manifestly affects the amount of physical energy an individual is able to harness for their work role. An individual can clearly exert physical energy, even in an environment low in job resources. However, it is clear from the evidence that such an environment over time ultimately detracts from that level of physical energy.

The theoretical construct of physical energy is clearly observed within both case settings and across all three evidence types with strong data triangulation. It is also evident that a level of structural job resource is a necessary antecedent state if officers are to exhibit high levels of physical energy over a protracted period.

### **5.2.2 – Availability – Emotional Energy**

Emotional energy is the capacity to engage in role behaviours with some level of compassion and emotional connection or the absence thereof. Kahn (1990, p. 715) cited the exhaustion and frustration felt by a designer and emotional drain felt by a camp counsellor. The dynamic was observed in all three data sources in both a positive and negative dimension.

Both organisations had purchased a contract to provide the EAP (database 8 and 16) through which advice and counselling can be arranged across a range of common stress areas (emotional counselling, finance, legal). The essential aspect of this, evident in the documentary material, is a recognition on the part of the organisations that emotional energy is a constituent factor in the creation of a climate in which officers can engage in role behaviours. The investment in a programme like the EAP is not only an apparent genuine effort to provide a meaningful support resource to officers but also a recognition of the debilitating effect that the negative dimension of this factor can have on employee

performance. The necessity for such a service, particularly following the Hutton (2011) pension changes and Winsor (2011) terms and conditions review, was clearly articulated by officers. Officers expressed concern at the extension of their working lives to age 60 and their physical capability of doing the job and also consideration of withdrawing from the police pension scheme, a scheme which has traditionally been seen as a prime motivator to both join and remain in the organisation.

Morale is quite low. The Winsor report. It's not something that Eastshire can focus on, it's external. From when I first started to now morale is a lot lower. Officers are not prepared to go as far as what they did. Officers will stay on for life at risk but people are saying no now. Winsor's main issue - pension is a huge thing I think we've been let down. We've got to work longer for less, yet expected to do the same job. We're in a job where work life balance is more in favour of work at this moment. From the public's perspective we're seen as having an easy job and paid well. Yes we do get paid better than others but when you take into consideration we can have our rest days cancelled at any time. (Officer CE)

Emotional exhaustion was also evident in respect of complaints made against officers and the resultant investigative process. An officer who had never previously received a complaint against him recounts having to withdraw from an advanced driving course because of the level of anxiety caused, for a matter which was ultimately resolved without any finding of blame on the officer's behalf. Similarly an officer recounts trying to move forces to Eastshire but being prevented from doing so due to an outstanding complaint investigation in his previous force. The matter resulted in his family having to temporarily separate whilst the matter was finalised, again without any finding of guilt on behalf of the officer. Both incidents had clearly exposed the individuals to a high level of emotional stress which affected their ability to engage in their work. The organisations showed recognition of this dynamic with overall recognition of the energy dimension within the UWES which is used by both forces as an engagement evaluation instrument (database 3 and 17).

An interesting police cultural dimension of emotional energy emerged throughout the interview phase. Reiner describes the traditional view of cop culture as "Mission – Action – Cynicism – Pessimism" (2010, p. 119) emphasising adrenalin, the fight and the capture. Whilst a variant of this culture was found, the nuance was more subtle and apparently more influenced by a level of desire to serve the public than a purely internal hedonistic fulfilment. Getting a 'result' as opposed to love of action appear dominant in officer's minds. A result is often perceived as the arrest of a criminal, who in the minds of the officers is particularly noteworthy, examples being burglars and sex offenders. Also the recovery of stolen property

or bringing an 'at risk' child into protective custody are all perceived as valuable. The important distinction between Reiner's (2010) traditional conceptualisation is the apparent motivation behind (delivery on behalf of the public) the act as an important motivating factor. The officers are not primarily motivated because of the excitement of the task itself, but by what the achievement of the task represents in terms of benefit to the public. Reflecting on some extended shift hours one officer commented:

When we've done a good job, even if you're tired but if you've achieved goals either personal or professional that makes a big difference. We PPO'd a child and finished at 0700 then came back in at 1500, and although physically tired felt like we'd achieved something and made a difference.<sup>1</sup> (Officer JE)

The motivational fulfilment here is an important element to distinguish because in Reiner's (2010, p. 119-121) traditional account it is this lacking of outward facing motivation which leads to direct cynicism. Reiner (2010, p. 121) comments that "many policeman see their combat with 'villains' as a ritualized game, a fun challenge with 'winning' by an arrest giving personal satisfaction rather than any sense of public service". There is no denying a level of frustration exhibited by the interviewees, however their motivation seems more related to delivery on behalf of the public than Reiner (2010) suggests. The dynamic should be described as 'Getting a Result' whereby the result indicates a meaningful outcome for the general public. This is supported by the organisations' reference to the concept of emotional intelligence (database 6), suggesting an organisational focus on the meaning and value of personal interactions.

'Getting a Result' and the public service motivation behind it does not mean that an officer feels no sense of personal gratification from their actions, indeed it is apparent that some form of engagement gain spiral (Salanova, Llorens, and Schaufeli, 2011, p. 279) or a time lagged engagement effect (Bakker and Bal, 2010, p. 200) is observed when a result is achieved. Officers reported a positive psychological impact on the day or time following a perceived result:

I get days like that on a regular basis particularly if you've had a good result on the previous day. (Officer CE)

I'd suggest that several times have always been following a good job, a good job meaning where we have proactively sorted something out, where we've done some leg work to get someone in, and everyone is on a particular high as a result of not only getting the result but also the recognition from other people, a good job well

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<sup>1</sup> PPO – Police Protection Order – Powers under which police take an at risk child into protective custody.

done. Catching a burglar with property still on them. It has a general knock on effect, it's infectious in that way. (Officer RE)

Not only is there an apparent personal positive effect but also a group benefit with a sense of radiation between members of the team. 'Getting a Result' therefore appears to be a hugely powerful event that derives its core psychological basis from a fulfilment of a degree of public service motivation, with apparent positive psychological effects temporally latent to the event both on a personal and immediate team level.

Emotional energy is, therefore, well documented across all three data sources and in both case settings in both a positive and negative setting. 'Getting a Result' appears to be an important police cultural finding, in contrast to the traditional view with important potential implications for those seeking to create a climate in which police officers may engage fully in role behaviours.

### **5.2.3 – Availability – Insecurity**

At the lower end of the spectrum of observed behaviours which threatened officers' security was an example of two officers having made an arrest and being directed to the neighbouring custody suite because their usual local facility was full. On being informed of the diversion there was an immediate emotional reaction, sense of frustration and insecurity at the prospect of an unfamiliar location. The expectation of the environment to which they were directed was actually divergent from their experiences when they arrived at which point they were greeted warmly by staff. Whether the custody staff behaved in this positive way because of an organisational direction or because of their personal nature is unclear, however, the documentary analysis showed a number of themes whereby the organisation was recognising the importance of the interaction between groups and individuals. The Westshire "Our Style" intranet page (case study database item 13) refers to "care being shown to one another" and "respect for diversity" recognising the importance of interpersonal and intragroup relations. This raises an important organisational opportunity in respect of the organisation's setting a vision of culture for teams to follow. It seems like an overly simplistic dynamic, but on this occasion a simple warm greeting turned an experience from fear and trepidation to acceptance and effective working.

Having observed an officer from 0740 to 1300 one morning they had achieved little or no actual police work, having attended no incidents, stopped no cars or pedestrians and interaction with no members of the public. The officer patrolled the far extremities of the geographic area to which they were allocated, describing an attempt to deliver visible presence to outlying areas. What became acutely clear, however, as the morning went on

was that the officer was physically distancing them self from the major conurbation areas and as such the areas where most frequent calls for service arose. In essence the officer was physically withdrawing them self from the team and as such providing little support to it. It became clear the officer had been moved back to response policing from a specialist post and lacked the basic skills to do the job now being asked of them. The officer also worked a flexible shift pattern and reduced hours, hence the physical contact time between the officer and team was also reduced. There was a clear level of insecurity that the officer displayed in withdrawing themselves in the very physical manner in which they did, which manifestly affected their role delivery.

Much has been written of police solidarity (Skolnick, 2008, p. 37, Bunyard, 2003, p. 94) and the uniquely strong interpersonal bonds that build up particularly between officers of the same shift or unit. This dynamic was clearly evident in a manner which provided a strong degree of support to the individual with comments such as “Having a team around me looking out for my personal wellbeing, I felt like I was looked after outside of work and in work”. Painting the picture of each team as a strongly cohesive unit hostile to outside influence and interdependent within, however, fails to recognise the normal complexities of interpersonal relationships. It is apparent that an overly simplistic view of a homogeneous unit solidarity misses the normal kind of interpersonal tension that is exhibited in any group setting.

The dynamics of the shift at the time, as they do change over time. There are times when we're all getting on really well and there are times when there is 'clique-iness'.(Officer LE)

The question of whether the intragroup dynamic within the police force has changed so dramatically since other commentators observed policing due to changes in the policing environment, or whether this level of intragroup complexity was always present and traditional conceptions of solidarity endure when facing outwards, is a moot point. It is more than reasonable to question whether some of these fundamental structural changes have influenced younger officer's perceptions of their role and how they interact with each other and the organisation. As response units are where officers start their careers there is a disproportion of younger officers within them, thus these teams may be particularly susceptible to such influence. Alternately a level of intragroup tension may always have been present within police teams, solidarity manifesting itself more clearly in outward/public facing ways. The answer to this question is beyond the scope of this work, however, it is clear that whilst a strong interpersonal dimension between some officers of the same team is evident, a traditional conception of homogeneous solidarity within the unit does not endure

and police cultural theorists should look again at this dynamic. It would be particularly useful for participant observers (ie police officers) to explore this dynamic because as members of the subject group they do not have to go through a period of ethnographic acceptance, the process of which may in itself make the researcher more likely to perceive a cultural solidarity.

Insecurity was a dynamic which was clearly demonstrated in the data, most strongly within observations and interviews and in both case settings. There are some important observations on the nature of traditional views of police solidarity which should serve as signposts to future research in the area of police culture.

#### **5.2.4 – Availability – Outside Lives**

A number of authors have examined engagement and the interaction between work and non-work roles looking at enrichment and depletion (Rothbard, 2001, p. 655), the investment in work and family roles (Rothbard and Edwards, 2003, p. 699), the interface between work and non-work (Sonnentag, 2003, p. 518) and engagement at work and detachment at home (Sonnentag et al., 2008, p. 257). Kahn (1990, p. 716) also recognised the detracting and enhancing effects that personal or ‘outside’ lives could play on role performances. The data from all three sources showed strong evidence of both consideration of outside lives as significant to role performance and evidence of that being the case.

The data show a strong impact on role performance from home life events. An officer is double crewed for a period of time following what they describe as a relationship break up and a period of personal stress for which they are receiving support from the force occupational health unit. From the officer’s tone of voice a degree of trauma is clear. On two later dates the same officer ran late, citing a personal reason on each occasion. It is clear that for this officer the turmoil in their personal life is having a significant negative impact on their ability to perform their role. A number of officers speak about family life and the difficulties in managing children and shifts. One officer speaks about how he and his partner (another officer) are expecting their first child and are worried about how they will cope, whilst another describes how she has managed to arrange a job share with another colleague such that they do fifty per cent hours each as her partner is also an officer with a national agency. The EAP (database 9 and 16) scheme run by both forces is a good exemplar of the forces’ recognition of the impact of outside life issues such as this which cause stress and absence for the workforce. The investment of funds into a contract to provide these services is suggestive that combined impact of such issues makes an impact on sickness absence that it is cost effective to provide the service. Whilst sickness data in the two case settings have not been analysed, “non-work related mental health issues are

most commonly associated with causing long term absence” (CBI, 2013, p.11) across the UK, hence the EAP is clear recognition of this fact within both cases.

It was apparent that home life could play either a negative or positive part upon people’s role performance. When people had either some form of positive event/experience to which they were looking forward, or had experienced a positive period of time before coming to work they reported that this positively influenced their ability to deliver in role. Officers quoted:

Home life influences me coming to work, what you've got to do at the end of your shift, whether you've got something to look forward to. (Officer DE)

Having a good day at home helps. If you have a good time at home you don't want to leave home, but for me I train a lot, if I've had a good morning in the gym, then come home and have some time with my partner, then I've done everything I want to do in the day before I go to work. (Officer PE)

Family life as well, that we haven't argued and everything is rosy in the garden. (Officer TE)

The converse of this was also true, and as seen in the observational data there were clear examples of stressful home experiences negatively influencing an officer’s ability to deliver in their role. Officers stated:

At Christmas I had some stuff going on in my personal life and I really didn't want to come to work. I was sent home a couple of times and was not any use to anyone. (Officer LE)

An early shift is particularly difficult. My partner does night shift and what with a young one and the broken sleep energy levels are low. I get an average 5 hours sleep a night. Sometimes it impacts my work, you come in and there are 10 pages of logs and it takes you a while to get into the swing of it. My partner and I work opposing shifts, we don't see much of each other. Home life affects how you feel before you come in. (Officer GE)

These findings are contrary to Rothbard’s (2001, p. 677) conclusions regards the causal direction of depletion from home to work life. Rothbard concludes that men “separated negative family emotion from work engagement such that no relationship existed between the two”, whilst women “compensated for negative family emotion by becoming more engaged in work” (2001, p. 676-677). Interestingly Rothbard (2001, p. 664) used survey data collected from a larger work-family issues survey, combined with structural equation



modelling delivered in hard copy to employees of a large public university. Without seeking to enter a debate regards the relative strengths of survey data, it is striking that the results of this study, and particularly the methods of interview and observation have gleaned completely different results. It is possible that the research context of this study has allowed a particularly good rapport between researcher and subject such that responses are particularly detailed. If an interviewee felt a level of discomfort between themselves and the interviewer, one might expect a degree of superficiality in interview responses, however, that does not appear to hold for these interviews thus there is little reason to question the validity of the data gleaned.

There was clear recognition from the organisational data of an awareness of the organisation's need to transcend the boundary between work and home life. Eastshire use a template for a conversation between supervisor and first line report called 'Time for You' (database 4) which focuses on interpersonal relations outside of purely a work focus, prompting the supervisor to learn something personal about the individual. The causal flow of effect between work and home life appears only to operate in the negative dimension. There were only examples cited of negative work experiences spilling into the personal sphere, not positive work experiences influencing home life in a positive manner.

I do feel that stuff in the workplace affects my home life. At the back end of 2012 I did an attachment to Op Socrates and didn't really like it, spent a lot of time in London doing sect 18 searches, the shifts were messed up and the role was not what I thought it was.<sup>23</sup> As such it affected home as I was dreading going to work. It had an effect and I started taking it out on my partner, we ended up having a row about it. She said "you've been a nightmare to be with" and I realised that I had to do something. If work's not good you do end up taking it home. (Officer TE)

Occasionally if I'd had a bad day at work I'd go home and have an argument with the Mrs. (Officer SW)

This dynamic may be particularly focused on the research settings. Both environments were uniformed response teams, the research subjects being constables and sergeants from those teams. By the very nature of uniformed roles, as soon as officers take off the uniform, leave the tools of their trade at work (personal protective equipment, marked cars, custody suites) and hand over work responsibility to a new shift, they are immediately able to distance themselves physically and psychologically from their work role. By nature of the roles required of them, response officers will not bring work home with them in a literal

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<sup>2</sup> Op Socrates (a pseudonym title) – A proactive team of plain clothes officers in Eastshire.

<sup>3</sup> Section 18 PACE 1984 – Post arrest search of a premises.

sense. Whereas a more senior officer is likely to have access to laptops and mobile data, solutions that blur the lines between work and home, response officers do not have that equipment, nor expectation, hence the role sterility between work and home (in that direction) is naturally high. Positive work experiences (Getting a Result) have, however, already been seen to have a positive energising time lagged effect on the individual and wider team. Therefore, it is apparent that what prevents the causal effect between work and home in a negative dimension is not time, but some form of separation effect that officers develop between the two dimensions of their lives. It is only strong negative emotions which are able to break through this detachment from work to home. It is likely that this effect is particularly prevalent in uniformed shift response officers. The detachment affect is likely to offer response officers some degree of coping mechanism. Sonnentag et al. (2008, p. 270) suggest that “a balance between high engagement at work and high disengagement from work during non-work time is highly relevant for protecting employees’ well-being”, a finding that is aligned with the interpretation here.

Outside lives were observed to play a significant part in officers’ ability to engage in role behaviours. Both positive and negative home life experiences influenced in role work performance, whereas only negative work experiences of some poignancy were suitably strong to break through a detachment of the causal route between work and home. It is probable that the nature of response shift works makes this detachment between work and home particularly prevalent in that role.

### **5.2.5 – Availability – Summary**

It is evident from all data sources and both case settings that all four elements of Kahn’s (1990) psychological preconditions of availability, namely physical and emotional energy, insecurity and outside lives were strongly observed throughout. Physical energy was shown as a necessary precondition for engagement, but an emerging requirement for a level of structural job resources was observed, a theme which was identified through the initial ethnographic observation phase and is developed further in the job resources section of this chapter. The effect of emotional energy was identified both positively and negatively, with a compelling development of police cultural thinking in the positing of ‘Getting a Result’ as a more relevant interpretation of the tradition view of mission-action-cynicism-pessimism. In respect of insecurity, traditional views of police solidarity do not appear to properly account for the normal complexities of intragroup interaction which was observed within the data set. A compelling reason for this may be the changing structural dynamic of the teams examined, their increasing diversity, and the effect of governmental changes such as reduced pensions, increased working years and a potential change in the way officers now perceive their own

place in the organisation which allows for a more 'normal' set of interpersonal dynamics. Lastly outside lives were seen to play a significant part in role performance, however, whilst home life appears to affect in role behaviours both positively and negatively, work life only appears to have a negative effect on home roles. The unique degree of detachment provided by a response officer's role, their clothing, equipment and work tasks may serve to provide this enhanced detachment effect which may in itself be a beneficial factor from both welfare and role engagement terms. In essence the availability dimension of Kahn's (1990) model is clearly demonstrated within the data examined here.

### **5.3 – Meaningfulness**

#### **5.3.1 – Meaningfulness – Task characteristics**

The perceptions of preferred police work were evident, consisting regularly in the focus on arrest of those wanted for offences. This dynamic was observed during briefings when a range of tasks were being distributed with conversation concentrating on the intelligence linked to the people to be arrested. Whilst a level of enthusiasm/excitement is definitely apparent amongst the officers, the focus does not appear to be overly hedonistic. The search for gratification appears more focused towards the achievement of an objective. If other tasks were perceived as less worthwhile it would be reasonable to expect some level of lesser standard of service from the officers as a natural consequence of their reduced interest. Contrary to this proposition there were good examples of officers attending a distressed intoxicated female requiring medical attention and a family dispute involving the custody of a child, both jobs which may be perceived by traditional police culture theorists as jobs less likely to be positively perceived, yet both were delivered with care and compassion to a high level.

Police autonomy is a manifest reality of the daily role in that once an officer leaves the confines of the station then the legalistic power divested in that individual to do or not do is considerable. Whilst officers may be lawfully ordered to do some things, others (particularly those surrounding the use of force) can never be ordered and the decision to do or not remains one for the individual alone. This dynamic easily translates into what officers do in respect of fulfilment of their role. In the same way they have autonomy to use force or not, there is sufficient space for them to engage or not in role behaviours. Kahn (1990, p. 704) suggest that a level of autonomy was likely to enhance experiences of meaningfulness, however, it also provides an opportunity to disengage from role activities. One officer justified a reluctance to exercise stop and search powers in response to management

requests in legalistic terms whilst another pair declined to conduct a simple arrest as the implications involved a longer drive for them than usual.<sup>4</sup>

Autonomy was not only observed in the negative dimension, being a key theme alongside problem solving that was identified during the interviews. Officers reported satisfaction and meaning when they were able to devote time and effort into more complex problem solving within a local community or trying to unravel socially complex issues. Both the Eastshire vision statement, the 'Eastshire Way' (database 7) and the Westshire January 2014 update to the staff survey (database 15) showed recognition of the importance of people being involved in the generation of ideas and solutions in similar vein related to change. The Eastshire Way carries statements of intent to "keep people involved by actively seeking ideas" and "create opportunities to learn" whilst Westshire's staff survey update carried a comment from the staff to the effect of "Don't build solutions or change without consulting fully with the workforce", both recognising the same dynamic from different stances. Officers effectively found meaning when seeking to deal more fundamentally with the cause of a problem as opposed to its symptoms or at least in dealing with the symptoms in a more thorough manner. Several reported these factors negatively in their respective forced moves to response policing in which it was generally perceived that a silo short termism was required by the unrelenting workload. The removal of the neighbourhood role for Westshire officers was an evident issue in the removal of individual ownership it entailed for ex-neighbourhood officers.<sup>5</sup>

For about seven years I was neighbourhood policing for the town centre and there was me and about five PCSOs, we'd start here then go straight down the town. We'd deal with drinking in the streets, sect 27s, dealing with beggars and everything else, we worked closely with the retail crime unit.<sup>6</sup> We did a lot of operations, at the railway station with dogs. Quite honestly I had pretty much a handle on most people in the town. That was quite a successful time. I think I was making a difference due to the rapport I'd built up and they knew the line they couldn't cross when before they were running amuck.....It was the most satisfying job and fairly successful, I was sort of my own boss really and worked well with the PCSOs. I thought it worked well, but then neighbourhood policing went out the window. (Officer MW)

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<sup>4</sup> Stop and search powers under Section 1 PACE 1984 allow officers to stop members of the public and, with grounds, search them.

<sup>5</sup> Neighbourhood or community officers are those deployed to a local patrol area and typically engage in community cohesion and long term problem solving initiatives.

<sup>6</sup> Section 27 Violent Crime Reduction Act 2006 allows police to direct persons in drink to be directed away from a geographic area and be arrested if they fail to do so.

At the extreme end of this continuum officers expressed extreme dissatisfaction when tasked forcibly to conduct what they perceived as unfocused tasks in which they had little control in design, were shown little trust and saw little chance of success.

On the recent problem, just the fact that it appeared to be a knee jerk reaction, and we all knew that walking around at night in high vis was not going to work. If we'd been asked what times, whether in plain clothes or a car, whether we should have officers at a particular place. The fact that we were sent out with no real thought process made us feel like we were on a fruitless mission, whereas if they'd have had a little more conversation with us they may have come to a different decision about the deployment and in turn the officers would have been a little more motivated to get some results. I think I understand why things like that happen, expectations at higher ranks than me, but for me it was futile and the crime figures showed it had little or no impact. (Officer RE)

Evidence of the meaning ascribed by officers to tasks which exhibited Kahn's (1990) criteria was identified in all data sources and in all cases. The evidence provided by the town centre officer is an almost perfect exposition of Kahn's (1990, p. 704) description of challenge, delineation, variety and creativity. The dynamic of autonomy was shown in both a positive and negative dimension, it leading to high engagement in some cases but also facilitating disengagement in others.

### **5.3.2 – Meaningfulness – Role characteristics**

As with many of the other themes under investigation much of the documentary evidence has only implied or partial relevance to the category under examination, however, in this area in both case settings the organisations clearly set out the expected role behaviours and organisational values in mission/vision statements. The interesting aspect here is perhaps less so the finite detail of those visions, but where there is variance between the stated culture and the observed reality.

Some aspects of the organisation's aspiration were reflected in identities which individuals fulfilled whilst some deviance was also evidenced. Both organisational mission statements (Eastshire Way – database 7, and Westshire's Our Priorities, Our Purpose, Our Style – database 13) set a clear expectation of crime fighting as an expected behaviour. This was clearly identified with regular enthusiasm shown for hunting for wanted people, maximising evidential capture through post arrest searches, and stopping of vehicles late into a shift close to hand over time.

Crime tasking car targeting known burglars and robbers. I used to get in their faces, disrupt them. Just by targeting them you knew you were making a difference, deterring them from committing crime, putting intelligence in about them. I felt it made an impact and I enjoyed it. Stopping criminals or deterring them has to be a good thing. (Officer BW)

As has been previously discussed there was a good deal of enthusiasm for seeking persons for arrest and 'Getting a Result' (whilst not a concept isolated to arrests) was seen as a key personal and team motivator. There is therefore a clear first identity of 'crime fighter' within both organisations.

A second emergent identity was that of 'public servant' whereby the role of the officer as both a member of and accountable to the community they serve holds dear, again reflected in both organisational mission statements (database 7 and 13). In this group, levels of public service motivation appear particularly dominant in thought processes. Whilst pursuing a criminal for arrest an officer attempted to seal off an escape route by going into someone's back garden only to recognise that the address was wrong. The officer was forced to immediately move on to the correct address, but a few minutes later when the job was complete returned to the original location and apologised to the homeowner for having intruded into their privacy, displaying a high level of awareness of their obligation to the public. The public servant identity was described variously as showing genuine care towards the public, and going the extra mile in dealing with a situation in which the police and partners deliver in unison. In reciprocation officers find value in the personal thanks they receive from individuals, often in a very informal manner.

For victims it depends how it affects them. Older people, people who have lost sentimental items, vulnerable people. To see someone walking out, shaking my hand thanking me. (Officer DE)

Officers also express satisfaction in being able to deal with members of the public using communication only without recourse to higher levels of force.

Probably the way we speak to people. I work with a group of lads sometimes quite highly strung. I quite often change the way I speak to people particularly those kicking off and I become their friend and they become more reasonable. (Officer IE)

This focus on communication style as the lowest end of the spectrum of force shows officers focus on behaving in a manner truly in the interest of the people they serve and is in stark contradiction to some of the exhibited behaviours described by Loftus (2009, p. 98) whereby

a team are energised by the prospect of a violent interaction with a group of drunken students. The identity of public servant is an influential one which balances the more traditional crime fighting persona.

There was a third dynamic at play, namely a withdrawing from effective police behaviours and a level of disengagement from role activity such that the officers became the wearer of a uniform for the period of their shift only. One senses they felt little commitment to a specific identity (crime fighter/public servant). Reiner (2010, p. 120) describes this identity as the “uniform-carriers”, a group who have become cynical due to the lacking fulfilment they have ultimately found in their careers. At the point of shift hand over, two pairs of officers were called to attend two drunken males outside of an off licence. The first of the pairs was immediately proactive, speaking to one of the males and following a period of abuse arrested the male taking him into custody. The second pair of officers then began to speak with the other male, who was displaying similar abusive tendency, however, they were far less intent on taking action and allowed the male to go on his way directing him away from the area. As the officers left the area, the male was still visibly not complying with the direction given to him, and it was clearly apparent that further action was going to be necessary. Upon return to the police station the officers handed over their patrol car to the oncoming shift. Despite the first group still having two hours of their shift left, when the inevitable further call for assistance in dealing with the drunken male was received they remained in the station and let the oncoming crew go and deal with the situation, resulting in a second arrest. The approach adopted by the two pairs of officers who originally attended the incident was striking, the first pair taking appropriate action early and probably being able to process their prisoner before their full shift expired, whereas the second pair appeared to actively procrastinate around the time of the shift hand over to effectively give themselves an easy last couple of hours. It is not clear how overt this action was to the rest of the team and whether it was an accepted identity, or an almost ‘covert’ action which was taken to avoid work. The observation is a lacking level of role engagement. This same dynamic was seen in a range of other scenarios with an officer turning a father and son away from the police station when they needed to speak to the son about a criminal matter on the pre-text that it was too late in the day to deal with the matter (again the officer had over three hours of their shift remaining and the father and son were willing to cooperate) and also a phone ringing on a desk in a parade room, which despite there being many people in the room was never answered. Whilst there was no general subscription to a disengaged or even lazy culture it was apparent that certain acts of disengagement were culturally unchallenged providing space for some officers to take advantage of that void. As such a degree of latent

disengagement was certainly exhibited. This appears to confirm a traditional identity of 'uniform-carrier' which is defined by a latent disengagement.

Little has been said regards the relative status of identities, however, this was very clear in terms of the formal rank structure inherent within the service and also the differences between different sections/units within the organisations. The dynamics of organisational process or management constraint manifested themselves primarily in the negative plane with officers exhibiting frustration when constrained from doing a good job by either an organisational process or a management decision. There were various manifestations of this dynamic. The assessment of the risk posed to a DV victim as too low because the formal risk assessment process in place failed to allow account to be taken of additional factors and the officer's intuition:<sup>7</sup>

DV stuff I suppose, a case whereby I assessed the risk as High and my sergeant disagreed and said it was medium. The DASH book constrains thinking. The ultimate frustration was that the risk was not being properly managed because a book assessed it differently without room for personal professional interpretation. It's the book constraining an assessment process.<sup>8</sup> (Officer AE)

The quick turnover of a number of self-centred managers within a department leading to deterioration in team credibility:

As we started to get a quicker turnover of managers it deteriorated. It was how people from outside the team perceived us. (Officer FE)

The pursuance of transactional targets which prevent the prime policing purpose being pursued:

A criminal damage job I was sent to a few months ago, was a damage to a bus stop to carry out an area search for offenders. The offence happened four hours before. Rather than saying we had no resources to deploy, we cover it up by doing an area search four hours later. How are we going to prove to the Government that we have insufficient resources, in my opinion we are working against ourselves and the public. Rather than going to this bus stop we'd be better going to another bus stop which the offender might screw. Paying more attention to proactive policing which would

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<sup>7</sup> DV – Domestic violence/abuse – a category of work in which response officers spend a considerable amount of their time.

<sup>8</sup> DASH – Domestic violence risk assessment process, in the form of a booklet completed by officers attending a domestic incident.



prevent crime rather than fighting fire of things that have already happened because we didn't put in enough energy. (Officer QW)

The effect of these factors is to significantly frustrate the officers in pursuing their roles and effectively downgrade their status self-perception by reason of repeatedly encountering an impassable procedural or organisational block to the way they feel the job should be achieved. The officers effectively feel that something within the organisation in terms of procedure or hierarchy is unjustifiably constraining them, due to an absence of trust and insufficient status. Sometimes this is manifested in terms of the formal hierarchy and lacking of status and power relative to sergeants and managers whilst sometimes an organisational process is the root. Irrespective, the effect is an absent sense of status, trust and power caused by organisational hierarchy and process constraints.

Lastly and importantly there was some evidence of deviance between organisational self-perception and the actual experienced reality for officers. Data on this issue were superficially conflicting, yet on reflection are coherent. Eastshire had invested significant time, money and senior leadership effort into making the force culturally supportive to its staff. This can be demonstrated by Eastshire's emphasis on employee engagement (database, 2, 3, 4), its focus on coaching (database 6), its emphasis on leadership and interpersonal behaviours (database 7) and its investment in schemes to provide staff support (EAP, database 8). The intriguing dimension was the perception held of the organisation by an officer who had spent their life within it.

It's very difficult for those who are responsible for workforce planning and moves to have an insight into individual lives and circumstances, but it would be so beneficial if a little more was reviewed upstairs before any moves without consultation. I know positions have to be filled but it's not consistent with how Eastshire like to see themselves. I think they like to distance themselves from the Met as a family friendly force but unfortunately they are almost going the other way, a number, a pawn to move about, as welfare is not considered and I can list colleagues who have been dealt with in a similar way.<sup>9</sup> I think a little more personal interaction would be better from the people upstairs, a little more understanding and a little more common sense. (Officer RE)

The almost exact antithesis position was put forward by an officer who had just transferred to Eastshire from the Metropolitan Police Service and who had been very recently unsuccessful in an Eastshire promotion programme.

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<sup>9</sup> Met – Metropolitan Police Service.

The example I would use to sum this up is my transition from the Met to Eastshire, shows a very different way of dealing with people. I explained this to Chief Sup't X who rang me yesterday to say I hadn't got through. I said to him that it was very nice of him to ring, there is no way that someone of his rank would have taken the time to make that phone call. That is the difference I would see. You feel more in a position where you can go forward to do things rather than being one of a mass number of people. An interest in you as an individual. The process shows that they care more about you as an individual than in the Met. That's certainly added a lot more positivity than in the Met. (Officer OE)

Perhaps the simplest conclusion to reach here is that both officers' terms of reference are different, and the reality is somewhere in the middle. As Eastshire has developed, and in the face of austerity necessarily contracted, adopting a more business-like approach, the feeling is one of deterioration, whilst for an officer transferring from the biggest police force in the country whereby individuals represent transferable assets, the comparison is favourable. For a significant majority of officers who have known nothing other than one organisation, however, this evidence of people questioning the DNA of the organisation is a finding to be mindful of as it represents a fundamental erosion of the psychological contract between officer and organisation.

A number of clear role identities can be delineated including 'crime fighter' and 'public servant'. Additionally there is an apparent level of latent almost accepted disengagement which can be classified as the identity of 'uniform carrier'. Throughout both identities of public servant and crime fighter a strong sense of public service motivation is manifested by the drive to 'get a result'. Officers' status is constrained by organisational hierarchy and process which serves to challenge the trust shown in an individual and the consequent power they perceive within themselves to achieve their objectives. There is also an important observation in respect of organisational cultural self-perception and the experienced reality of it, in that a significant divergence from a once held organisational stance, if not managed carefully exhibits the potential to expose a rift between current organisational culture and an individual's preferred identity.

### **5.3.3 – Meaningfulness – Work interactions**

Simplistically the first observation is the observed positive effect of simple pleasantries and friendly attitudes between teams. This was particularly seen in the custody arena whereby upon entry to the custody suite two arresting officers were immediately offered a cup of coffee alongside a warm reception, which clearly positively affected their own behaviours and effectively 'oiled' the custody process. Similarly on another occasion in custody when

the suite was busy there was a calm efficiency and welcoming attitude from the staff, this correspondingly allowed the arresting officers to work as a unit to book in three prisoners simultaneously. In both scenarios simple and genuine pleasantries were affective in creating a welcoming a conducive environment for the officers which positively influenced their state of mind and ability to work as a cohesive unit. In these examples it would appear that Eastshire's emphasis on employee engagement and the creation of a climate in which people can flourish (database 2, 3, 4) was realised.

Predominantly manifested as a positive factor, individuals found value and meaning in the internal benefit an action had for their immediate team. Examples include facilitating the introduction of a new valuable piece of equipment (body cameras), facilitating the regular provision of essential everyday equipment (latex gloves) following a personally traumatic experience involving the absence of that equipment (needle stick injury), and the building of morale in a low performing team. The individuals who had taken these actions found personal value, both in terms of altruistic value and also personal fulfilment.

Something quite stupid actually, getting gloves in our report room, after my incident I've come back and almost OCD, double gloving and everything. Due to budgets I couldn't get them from custody any more but with the help of my inspector it's something I got done and I now know that everyone that works on intervention now has gloves available to them. Following my bad experience I've been able to help a larger group of people to hopefully avoid that experience. (Officer AE)

Much has already been written regarding the value officers placed in areas of work where they were allowed to explore the causes of a particular issue and were able to engage a range of services to positively influence that issue. Correspondingly a high level of interpersonal/interagency frustration was reported when police attempts to improve a scenario were not appropriately reciprocated by a partner agency or indeed the scenario itself was perceived to have been caused by a level of negligence, reticence or lacking energy on behalf of a partner agency. This theme conceptually overlapped with the reported frustration surrounding a range of vulnerable people (mental health, domestic violence, missing people) and was exclusively negative. Officers reported the police force being used as the back stop for failings in other agency services. Examples were provided for children's homes which failed to adequately control children leading to repeated reports of missing children, mental health hospitals failing to admit patients leading to those patients using emergency police section powers as a gateway to mental health services, and the failure of joint agencies to adequately manage domestic violence cases such that they became repeats. An officer was called to the assistance of an ambulance crew who were awaiting

another ambulance crew (one with an actual ambulance as opposed to a car) in order to manage a distressed female who displaying mental health/substance abuse issues. The officer had to wait thirty-eight minutes before the ambulance arrived, a simple imposition on the officer due to the incapacity from another service provider. Frustration was also expressed towards the court services in failing to provide adequate sentencing to deter or prevent offenders who then appeared back in communities to commit offences afresh.

Mental health is the other big drain on our resources. The number of people threatening suicide, well in December it was pretty much every day. Again it seemed like problems with the mental health services at Royal Eastshire hospital. How do they do it? They know that we are a route into those services for them. If they got that help in the first place we wouldn't need to be involved.(Officer EE)

This theme of the buck effectively stopping with the police as other agencies withdraw is a possible effect of public sector cuts as part of successive UK government spending reviews. Certainly policing is perceived by officers as the agency which bears the brunt of other organisational withdrawal whilst is itself in the process of significant reduction.

Officers found rewarding interactions when they were dealing with children, young people or the vulnerable. This showed through the immediate rapport established by officers in such circumstances. An officer had been moved back to response policing from a team which worked closely with social services in developing long term solutions for families exhibiting a wide range of social needs. The officer was able to quickly develop strong rapport with children from such environments when they met them on the street, and engage with those individuals on issues of relevance to them. Another officer showed strong rapport with both children and vulnerable people upon attendance at a domestic incident, exhibiting emotional intelligence with a child and volunteering to record a protracted statement from the female victim (the recording of a statement often being perceived as a mundane task) showing strong enthusiasm.

Perceptions of domestic violence and the concept of 'proper victims' was particularly well delineated. There is a clear dichotomy in the way in which victims of crime were perceived with the term "proper victim" being coined to generally denote an individual who is perceived as genuinely requiring police help or vulnerable, but also as being free from social issues that might make them a frequent or repeat caller for police force. When describing categories of vulnerability, the elderly and children were frequently cited alongside domestic violence victims in a more nuanced manner. A good example of a perceived 'proper' victim is an elderly couple reporting a burglary having never called police in their life before. Such a victim would be perceived as vulnerable by reason of age and 'proper' by reason of only

having called upon police in the direst of circumstances. Conversely a repeat domestic victim to whom police had been called numerous times, would be seen as a futile or conveyor belt case, with officers reporting extreme frustration at the reported attitude of that victim in placing themselves in a position of repeated danger.

The domestic type situation where they just want the quick fix, you know full well that they'll have them back. There's a family, they call in weekly, I've been there six or seven times, there's arguments and assaults, they call up, then when you get there the female just wants the male gone. You then have an argument with control, you can't have it closed without a crime. All she wants is for him to go and you know in a couple of weeks he'll be back again, it just goes round and round. All she wants is a letter saying she's been made homeless....It's probably the wrong phrase to use (proper victim) but people who want to help themselves as opposed people who don't want to help themselves. You do everything but you know they won't do anything you suggest for them to help themselves. (Officer KE)

The irony of this is acute in that whilst an elderly couple having been a victim of burglary once do stand a higher chance of being a repeat victim, the chances of serious harm or death to a repeat DV victim are far more significant. The irony that these repeat individuals are unlikely to be perceived as 'proper' victims represents a risk of harm to those individuals by virtue of the lack of meaning which resides in those cases for those officers and the frustration they experience in making meaningful differences for them. This appears cognitively sound, that is we 'turn off' to experiences which we find unsatisfying. Whilst officers do not express reduced effort towards those whom they perceive as less worthy victims, they do express sentiments of "going the extra mile" for those whom they perceive as proper victims. It therefore follows that the most vulnerable are not receiving the best service as that service is reserved for the 'proper' victim. Organisationally this presents a significant risk and a way needs to be found for officers to find meaning and satisfaction in these cases. Additionally the lack of partner agency support may well be a compounding factor in the frustration officers report.

Whilst this may on the surface appear to be a replaying and confirmation of traditional theory surrounding police attitudes to domestic violence, in actuality, despite there still being inherent risk in those attitudes, the motivational construct has moved on. The reported frustration appears to be felt not because the police view domestic violence work as inherently unimportant, far from it as can be seen from the observational data and the value found in dealing with vulnerable people. Rather they develop frustration in dealing with repeat cases because of their inability to improve the situation. Some of that frustration is

motivated towards the victim themselves, but ultimately it is born out of an underlying belief in the importance of the work. It is this frustration at their inability to effectively resolve the situation which leads to their classification of these individuals as not 'proper victims' rather than their belonging to a particular minority group, or a disbelief in the value of the work per-se. It is the frustration at not being able to achieve a meaningful outcome that resolves the issue which leads to the classification and frustration. In support of this view the interview data also yielded a wealth of comment regarding the level of importance and fulfilment which officers ascribe to domestic violence work.

As an appointment officer yesterday I had five appointments with one free slot. There was a repeat DV offence, Straight away on the log you could see it was complex. Normally for an appointment you are being given an hour and fifteen, an hour and twenty to deal with the job. It's not enough. I was told that due to lack of resources I was told that this domestic as now allocated to me as an appointment and it turned a twenty seven tick on the DASH including sexual, physical and mental abuse.<sup>10</sup> I just think allocating something like this as an hour and fifteen minute appointment is criminal, I had to liaise with the sergeant so my last appointment could be allocated to someone else. The IP was in such deep depression that I decided against taking a statement from her and brought her back for an ABE interview as that might of been the only opportunity to get any evidence from her.<sup>1112</sup> (Officer QW)

Theoretically this position is a significant step from the traditional view of police attitudes towards domestic violence. The more contemporary theorists recognise a development of police action towards a more positive stance generally resulting in the arrest of a (generally) male offender however, Loftus (2009, p. 129) comments that attitudes lag with such incidents being described as a 'crock of shit'. There is evidence here, however, that officer attitudes are now catching up with mandated police action. The completion of this cycle should aim to help officers recognise the prime locus of the most pressing threat and overcome their personal frustrations when dealing with repeat scenarios. There is also a huge organisational issue here that repeat incidents of this nature carry significant risk and that the officer experience on the ground demonstrates that the existing multi-agency strategies in place are not having the necessary effect. A more reliable and effective joint agency methodology of dealing with domestic violence will clearly pay dividends for officers

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<sup>10</sup> The DASH domestic violence risk assessment booklet comprises of a points system – the more points the higher the perceived risk.

<sup>11</sup> IP – Police jargon for injured party – the victim.

<sup>12</sup> Achieving Best Evidence – The process of obtaining a statement from a vulnerable victim, usually by means of video interview.

on the front line as this type of work both forms a considerable portion of their daily workload and also features highly in their psychological considerations both positively and negatively.

The doctrine of 'proper victim' can therefore be described as a continuum, effectively mediated not by officers' prejudices towards a particular group of people (as previously described in traditional police culture literature), but by the ability of officer and organisation or joint organisations to make a meaningful intervention in that scenario such that intervention is not perceived as fruitless. Figure 4 shows a retroductive emergent theoretical model of 'proper victims':

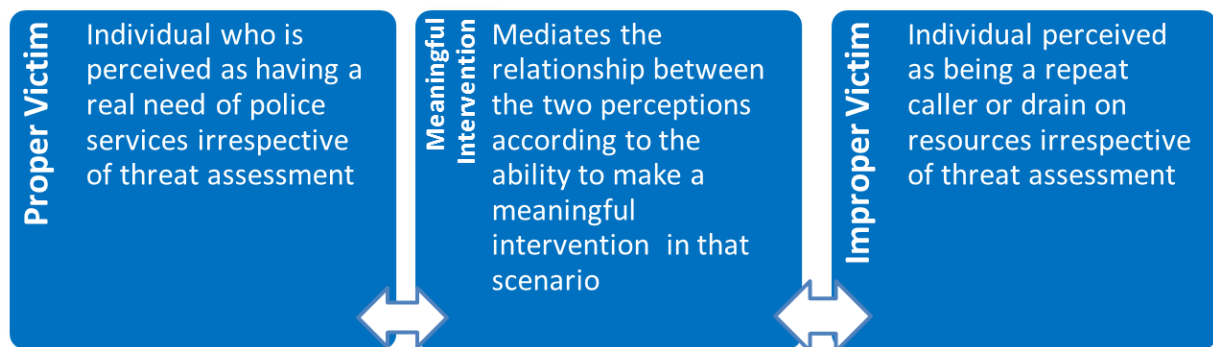


Figure 6 – A retroductive emergent theory of proper victims

There is a significant volume of information which comes from an analysis of Kahn's (1990) concept of work interactions. The organisational documentary data clearly show the recognition the organisations place on work interaction both internal and external. The observational data shows the level of meaningfulness officers enjoy when dealing with children and vulnerable people, but also the positive effect of simple pleasantries amongst teams. The interview data were the most compelling showing a strong sense of fulfilment when officers were able to make a change which benefited their own team, a sense of real frustration with partner agencies when they were perceived to either not assist in the resolution of an incident or event to be the root cause of the incident itself. In theoretical terms, however, the most interesting finding is the concept of proper victims with particular reference to domestic violence and the simultaneous positive development in police attitudes to the point of recognising the value of domestic violence work, but the simultaneous organisational risk in terms of a lacking genuine threat assessment in differentiating between proper and improper victims. The development of a model of proper victims in which the mediating factor between proper and improper victims is an officer's perception of their ability to making a meaningful intervention in that scenario should be perceived as positive in that it does not display a tendency towards more traditional prejudices. However, the

resultant effect is still a high level of risk for the most vulnerable because officers are unlikely to see those individuals as worthy of their most significant efforts.

#### **5.3.4 – Meaningfulness – Summary**

It is clear from all three data sources in both case settings that the three elements of role and task characteristics and work interactions are all clearly present within the analysed data. Kahn's (1990, p. 704) five elements of task characteristics (challenge, delineation, variety, creativity, autonomy) were all clearly identified with autonomy being observed to play both a positive role, but also create space for individual disengagement. Within role characteristics three clear role identities were evidenced, namely that of 'crime fighter' and 'public servant' with an apparent level of latent disengagement which formed the identity of 'uniform-carrier'. The drive to 'get a result' as opposed to a love of action is an important development of more traditional police cultural interpretation. The prime motivator behind this drive to 'get a result' appears to be a strong level of observed public service motivation. In an opposing sense, the status of response officers is challenged by the hierarchical and organisational process constraints which affect individual power and self-perception. Work interactions are clearly identified as a prominent element of psychological meaningfulness, with officers reporting considerable meaningfulness in their interactions with children and the vulnerable. The exercise of simple pleasantries across teams was seen as a powerful factor in inter team dynamics, whilst officers reported significant frustration when faced with partner agencies whom they perceived to not be pulling their weight. Lastly the concept of 'proper victims' mediated by the ability of an officer to make a meaningful intervention in that scenario was an important step forward for police cultural thinking surrounding domestic violence. Meaningfulness of work role is clearly identified as a prime precondition with strong evidence to show the conceptual clarity of Kahn's (1990, p. 704) construct including task and role characteristics and work interactions within a UK police environment.

### **5.4 – Safety**

#### **5.4.1 – Safety – Interpersonal relationships**

Close team bonds were apparent, although as has been previously assessed not to the extent that they overpowered the ebb and flow of normal personal interactions. This was exhibited by an officer taking a fast food order on behalf of the entire shift, then being diverted to a job, for that same order to then be taken by another team member, and separately a pair of officers working in close unison to prepare a prisoner hand over package. In both examples there was a rapport amongst the officers which allowed them to display positive behaviours. These behaviours were in line with Westshire's 'Our Style'



document (database 13) which describes a vision for a friendly collegial approach including “care shown to one another” and also seemed pursuant with Eastshire’s engagement documents (database 2) which describe an aspirational “climate where employees feel able to give of their best”. Whilst this close bond was clearly demonstrated, there was no overriding sense of unity as has been previously described in some traditional literature.

It depends on your shift, we're very supportive, but I've been in environments that weren't. The dynamics in the team are important. I've had teams where there has not been support and I've felt isolated and people won't want to come into work if they're miserable. (Officer JE)

There was also recourse to dark or insular humour between officers. This unsurprisingly was not something that was recognised within the documentary data. The observational evidence encountered here corresponds to the traditional view with officers displaying insular humour about the Christmas jumpers they all intend wearing (another form of effective uniform) at the Christmas outing, and separately a conversation regards a male who was Tasered and then fell into a river (serious implications) which is perceived as hilarious.<sup>13</sup> There was another manifestation of the hierarchical constraints previously encountered when looking at meaningfulness, whereby a detective sergeant receiving a prisoner handover from a uniformed constable was overbearing and obstructive.

The interview data displayed a primary theme related to the peer expectations generated within a group. The influence of an immediate team upon an individual was significant with ranges of experiences from team dynamics which displayed strong cohesion and solidarity to ostracism and isolation. Some saw day to day fluctuations in the team dynamic as a key element of their sense of comfort/security. It was noteworthy that many changed their work behaviours in order to avoid ridicule by the team. Particularly this was exhibited in respect of the time taken at any one job, and officers reported rushing in order not to be perceived as shirking responsibility.

If you take too long people will start talking and you'll feel that pressure. The pressure is your colleagues, it's a piss take, after a while it can make you a bit paranoid. (Officer DE)

Officers alluded to an unofficial hierarchy within the teams, moderated by an officer’s performance levels, particularly performance related to arrests and numeric performance indicators as opposed to quality metrics.

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<sup>13</sup> Taser – Publicly controversial restraint device which uses high voltage electricity transmitted through wires to incapacitate a subject.

Internally if you have a good relationship with your peers and you're seen as competent and know what you're doing then you're generally trusted to get on and do it. That sort of thing also makes you feel comfortable and you know you're not doing it wrong. If everyone has a bad opinion of you and think you are lazy, whereas if they think you are all right it feels more comfortable. Also performance, if you're a top performing officer it's difficult for your peers not to think you know what you're doing because clearly you do or you wouldn't be getting the results. (Officer TE)

There was an exhibited need to fit in which at the extreme end of the spectrum manifested itself in isolation and ostracism from specialist units.

When I was training I went onto three attachments, I went onto the TACT team attachment and I couldn't have felt more that I didn't belong there, that no one wanted me there and I felt out of my depth, because that was pretty much what was said to me.<sup>14</sup> I ended up going in a car with two officers who had been in a long time, they said we're a specialist unit, we don't really like probationers with us, we know what we're doing so just sit there and listen. I had a five week attachment and I couldn't wait to get off it, as it was clear at every single job that they didn't want me there, they had no interest in me I was literally just a spare part. (Officer TE)

Kahn's (1990, p. 708) concept of interpersonal relationships and the relative strength or weakness of support and trust are, therefore, clearly exhibited within the data set analysed here.

#### **5.4.2 – Safety – Group and Intergroup dynamics**

A clear unofficial hierarchy amongst officers was evident, which manifested itself in a very visible manner. An officer reported moving from another shift onto a new team. At his old station he had been 'top dog' and as such his tray had been physically at the top of the shift filing cabinet. Upon moving to the new shift he had to establish himself afresh, represented by his tray which was placed at the bottom of the shift filing cabinet. Unsurprisingly, being a factor related to unconscious identities there was little documentary data to support this finding.

The second theme which was clearly observed in one of the case settings was racism. Respect for diversity was an evidenced aspiration which was clear in both organisations' mission statements (database 7 and 13), racism clearly being an intractable problem in policing around which multiple reports (Scarman 1981, Macpherson 1999) have been

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<sup>14</sup> TACT Team – Tactical team within Eastshire – A plain clothed proactive unit.

written. An Asian Muslim officer reported both how he had experienced racism during his training with tutor officers and supervisors displaying behaviours which failed to take into account his natural cultural tendencies and also later in his career an extreme overtly racist incident whereby as part of the shift 'secret santa' the officer received a bottle of wine and a pack of bacon which he found highly offensive. The officer felt that the action had been intended as a joke, however, simply failed to take account of the significant offence it caused. The officer responsible for the incident did lose their job, however, the officer subjected to the experience reports that most of his colleagues from similar minority backgrounds also experience some form of racism particularly when they first join the organisation. It was anticipated that racism would be reduced in teams which displayed high levels of diversity yet this was not the case. This incident was reported by an officer from a team in which there was an Asian Inspector, three Asian, and a Polish PC from a team of nine. It is, however, in line with much of the literature regarding police racism including Rowe's (2004, p. 54) dual emphasis on both the organisational and structural elements identified as institutional racism in the Macpherson report (1999) but also an occupational sub-culture. The fact that racism is alive and well within the police force of 2014 is perhaps unsurprising, however, clearly presents a block to officers from minority groups achieving unconscious roles in which status resides and clearly identifies an environment in which an individual is unlikely to feel sufficiently safe in which to give of their best. Indeed Singh, Winkel and Selvarjan (2013, p. 259) theorise that psychological safety mediates the relationship between diversity climate and employee performance. They also found that the effects of "diversity climate and safety are stronger for minorities" (Singh, Winkel and Selvarjan, 2013, p. 259). In essence minority employee performance is therefore, more vulnerable to a climate lacking in psychological safety than it is for non-minorities. The data finding that most minority ethnic officers experience some form of racism during their careers and particularly when they first join in combination with Singh, Winkel and Selvarjan's (2013) finding suggests that psychological safety is a factor which should be particularly focused upon in organisational terms.

The interview data did not show the same racism that was identified during the observations, it perhaps being noteworthy that the same officer who had made the disclosures during the observational phase appeared less at ease during the interview within the station. The interview data did, however, exhibit considerable time and work volume pressure imposed upon officers by supervisors and the control room. This led to tensions between the officers and supervisors and control rooms. Officers reported wanting to do things in a more comprehensive manner which they felt would make a more meaningful difference, yet felt

pressure to move on to the next assignment from both supervisors and the radio control room.

Sergeants are busy people, they don't want to listen to me they just want me to crack on, a job's a job to them. (Officer AE)

Time is a massive issue, the controller has a massive impact on what we do and how long we spend on jobs, "we've got jobs stacking up how long you are going to be". If there are other people there it's about how they are making me feel about taking the time. (Officer AE)

The unconscious role that subsequently emerged from this pressure was, therefore, of speed and superficiality whereby good became equated with how quickly the issue was resolved, not the quality nor nature of the resolution. This role was reinforced by the team, whereby officers felt pressure upon them to work quickly both because of the direct pressure being applied by sergeants and the control room and also the indirect expectation of their colleagues for them to finish such that individuals were perceived as pulling their weight. An unconscious role therefore emerges as equating speed with efficiency without consideration of quality.

An unofficial hierarchy within teams was observed showing the validity of Kahn's (1990, p. 709) construct. It was clear that latent racism within one of the case settings was evident. This racism presented a clear challenge to those from minority groups in achieving a higher status position within the observed unofficial hierarchy. The interview data identified the unconscious role of work speed driven by supervisors and the control room being equated with efficiency in the perception of peers without consideration of quality.

#### **5.4.3 – Safety – Management style and process**

The documentary data particularly focused on management style and organisational culture as opposed to processes. It is clear that there are a set of preferred organisational management styles in both case settings. These preferred styles were not, however, reflected by the officers. There was a clear attitude of doing enough to ensure self-preservation. An officer exclaimed whilst sitting in a car waiting for traffic offenders that it "keeps the sergeant happy, it's a case of box ticking" whilst another describes how they have modified their behaviour over the years towards self-preservation. They went on to describe how their attitude had changed over the years of doing the job from wanting to "change the world" to now simply earning enough money to look after a family and in so doing keeping the "sergeants off my back". This sense of self-preservation ran hand in hand with a

management focus on performance which was often perceived as box ticking. This was described by a detective sergeant as people still “playing that game” and within Westshire as a frustration within one shift that whilst the force had moved away from key performance indicators, a local Inspector still imposed them. It was clear from the officers’ stance on the issue that the transactional targets set by the Inspector simply served to set a low benchmark and did not create a sense of aspiration. There were additional more positive exhibited behaviours with observed visible leadership with Sergeants attending with officers to make arrests, conducting live time briefings on car bonnets in the street and comments that a local superintendent was regularly seen in briefings.

Supervisory attitudes were a key dynamic recognised strongly both within the documentary data and the interviews. Eastshire’s focus on employee engagement in terms of the creation of a climate in which employees can flourish is clear through the various intranet documents dealing with the subject (database 2,3,4). Eastshire’s journey with employee engagement as a survey tool starts with the Gallup Q12 focusing in the transformational climate behaviours of knowing, caring, focusing and inspiring and latterly the UWES focusing on energy, involvement and absorption. Both case settings demonstrate an uptake of coaching behaviours as a staff development tool for managers (database 6,12) with Eastshire’s intranet page championing the GROW model focusing on Goals, Reality, Opportunity, Wrap Up. This organisational focus corresponded with influence ascribed to first line managers upon the safety dynamic within a team. At their best, supervisors showing trust in their staff to make decisions, but simultaneously offering support during moments of indecision greatly enhanced officer’s confidence in discharging their duties.

Sergeants are there to supervise and I feel safe that they will hear and listen to the decisions I'm making and step in if they need to. It doesn't happen much but it makes me feel safe in what I'm doing. (Officer PE)

On top of that the continual reassurance is from line managers and others in the organisation that what I'm doing is right which creates a comfortable working environment. (Officer RE)

At their worst, supervisory attitudes which were self-interested or hierarchically transactional, failing to account for the views of the team member, had a damaging impact on staff perceptions of safety.

Some of the mangers weren't really interested in that unit, it was just a stepping stone for them, they had no interest. Others were the complete opposite, would come in and change everything. If they're not bothered why should you be bothered? The

managers definitely had an effect on how comfortable and safe you felt in that role, what are they going to change? Who are they going to move? (Officer FE)

Indeed, there was some suspicion of an almost Machiavellian plot on behalf of mid ranking managers to hold officer development back on the basis that those officers delivered good performance for the unit.

Secretly I know they don't want to lose people that bring in the numbers. I have a perception that I'm being held back because I'm performing. (Officer GE)

Officers reported confidence in expressing views, but in so doing warranted caution in how those views were expressed, recognising a personal danger in so doing. It is clear that formal hierarchy plays a strong psychological factor in the minds of many officers.

Inside the nick is something I've never really thought about. It's a police station so you naturally feel safe.<sup>15</sup> I might feel a bit uncomfortable raising an issue, but if you think something needs raising you need to do it. You get the perception of PC raising issues is frowned upon, just shut up and get on with it. Personally I'll say, but sometimes it's not well received. (Officer GE)

There was exhibition of a distrust of senior leadership and a perceived blame culture, albeit some of this appeared imported from other forces.

With DV incidents there is the opportunity for things to go wrong and for those things I run it past the sergeant, the arse covering exercise. I've certainly been told stories in Derbyshire where things have gone wrong where they've been pulling people up for decisions they made years before. I don't feel safe in those decisions, the scapegoat mentality. (Officer KE)

Senior officer communication style, lack of confidentiality and lacking visibility negatively affected officer trust. Electronic communication style was particularly commented upon negatively, officers commenting upon blanket organisational emails of a threatening tone following a problem with one officer or group and also the general tone of communication.

The tone of emails going round treats you like an idiot. (Officer EE)

The other thing that gets my back up. You get these emails that are sent to everyone threatening disciplinary. I think I haven't done that, so why send me a threatening email. Sometimes I think it's easy for people to look at scenarios in hindsight. You

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<sup>15</sup> Nick – colloquial term for a police station.

always hear when you've done something wrong, not when you've done something well. (Officer KE)

In Westshire this dynamic was described as the lacking of any customer service focus.

I'd sit people in a classroom for a day and teach them about customer service, it would be about communication skills, I'm talking from the ranks down. I've yet to find communication skills. Just the simple things. (Officer NW)

In summary, both organisations set out a clear view of the management behaviours they expected from their leaders. Whilst it was clear from the interview data how important those behaviours were in influencing officers it was also clear that on occasions the behaviours did not follow the organisational aspiration with self-interested and hierarchical management attitudes causing detriment, or perceived detriment to officers. Corporate and senior leadership communication styles also affected people negatively. It was also clear that transactional management practices related to performance indicators had the potential to disengage staff, creating a transactional goal which officers began to perceive as the level which kept supervision at bay. Overall management style and process as described by Kahn (1990) were clearly evidenced throughout the data set as a factor hugely influential upon officer's perceptions of safety in fulfilling role behaviours.

#### **5.4.4 – Safety - Organisational norms**

The vision statements within both organisations (database 7 and 13) provide an organisationally defined set of aspired norms. However, as has been previously observed actual organisational culture does not necessarily follow directly from senior leaders' aspirations.

Both organisational process and hierarchy played a role in the definition of norms within the case settings. The command structure was emulated in a number of different and visible guises, an example being the officer's briefing room which was set out within a traditional manner with the sergeant's briefing desk, projector screen at the front and focal point of the room with the other seats in a circle around it. This made it very clear that the person sitting behind the desk was in charge, with officers sitting in the same seat each briefing, a norm into which new officers had to assimilate themselves. Many officers also felt constrained by the specific organisational processes required of them by their role, citing an inability to deal with the holistic problem, just a small segment of it, whilst others commented upon the scrutiny and lack of trust which is shown to them as response officers.

I think it's a very difficult balance on how far you want to go. I feel intervention is quite limiting because I want to follow through a job to its full extent. You have to learn your parameters. Intervention is quite prescriptive, you turn up take a statement. Because of the other jobs I've had I've had to be reined in, but that's difficult when you see a bigger picture. I think I'm frustrated by that. (Officer JE)

Many felt uncomfortable updating logs and recording crimes because of the scrutiny placed on those aspects by the elements of the organisation.

The one area I don't feel safe is the updating of logs. I could put as much rationale on a log, but we're fighting with the Oscars, not even the Oscars.<sup>16</sup> All my rationale was on there, but then it went to crime service team and was crimed without my knowledge. I don't feel comfortable updating the log myself, the controllers are much better at putting things into words than I am. (Officer PE).

There was wide recognition across both organisations that officers felt more safe when they had developed knowledge and experience in a role and felt confident in their own skills. Geographic familiarity was also important, alongside an awareness of colleague's work practices. The dynamic appeared more prevalently as a positive indicator as opposed officers citing lacking knowledge as an insecurity.

If I'm honest I can't give one particular example as I feel comfortable doing my job both internally and externally for a couple of reasons. I've been doing it for so long, there is continuity, I know my team, I know my line managers who have generally been with me for a long time as well. I know what is expected of me, I know the trends, generally speaking the continuity of the position has meant I feel pretty comfortable and confident in dealing with anything internally or externally. (Officer RE)

It was apparent that the norm of a geographic area quickly became something to which officers were attached and literally stepping outside of it caused stress, both in respect of lacking knowledge regards geography but also due to the lesser status the officer enjoyed outside of their own area.

The main organisational norms which were displayed are, therefore, centred around, the dynamics of job and local knowledge and also organisational process and hierarchy. In essence a number of strong organisational norms were observed which served to empower

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<sup>16</sup> Oscar One is the force control room Inspector who oversees live operations and will have a say on issues such as the closure of a log by means of the completion of a crime report.



officers when they operated within those parameters leading to enhanced feelings of safety in line with Kahn's (1990, p. 712) theory.

#### **5.4.5 – Safety – Job resources**

Whilst analysing the data for Kahn's (1990) preconditions of availability and meaningfulness, the data corresponded closely with Kahn's theoretical construct, however, when both observing and questioning officers regards their feelings of safety it became clear that there was an important additional dimension. This dimension has a significant impact on officers' ability to engage relative to the other factors investigated. Job resources were first identified during the observational phase of the research whereby the impact or, at least perception of officer numbers, was playing a significant role in individual psyches manifested by complaints of lacking time or simply lacking officer numbers. The dynamic also manifested itself through officers' attitudes towards their equipment. The issue was of such significance that specific questions within the interview schedule were included. Whilst there is some cross over with the general issue of job resources, there were some elements that related particularly to officer's psychological and physical safety and their consequent ability to deliver in role behaviours.

Whilst many commentators stress the over specification of the danger of policing referring to the "mundane reality" (Reiner, 2010, p. 120), and commenting that "potential violence and physical risk also assumed an important place within their occupational consciousness" (Loftus, 2009, p. 118), the fact that a level of risk does exist must be recognised. Officers are on occasions exposed to life threatening scenarios.

The night of the riots in Tottenham. It started as a normal night, all we knew was that the late turn were being kept on then I was kitted up driving a carrier to Tottenham, which to be honest I couldn't even of pointed to on a map, a very stressful situation, by that point I had an idea what was going on. We had to get to Tottenham Hotspur football club and everywhere we went someone was throwing something at us, the windscreen of the carrier I was driving was smashed there were police cars on fire, for a minute I felt I'm really not interested, this is not working, but of course you have to persevere. That was the first time I've felt like that. I was completely out of control there. I've done a lot of public order, but this was so spontaneous. I was leading the line of PSU vans which didn't help and we ended up going three miles the wrong way

round a one way system, which was the only way in.<sup>17</sup> It was quite a responsibility. It was a sense of physical insecurity. (Officer OE)

I didn't feel unsafe at the time of dealing with it (exposure to HIV positive subject, requiring officer to undergo anti-viral treatments) it was just a normal job, it was just one of those things he didn't want to tell us who he was or anything about himself, unfortunately I come off the worse. (Officer AE)

This type of risk was not so prominent within Kahn's (1990) original case settings and as such the sorts of threats which feature more prominently in a police officer's mind comparative to an office worker are more likely to be focused on actual physical as opposed psychological threat. The threat of harm to one's reputation or job prospects are different threats than posed by a violent offender threatening one's life. As such the police environment does carry a degree of threat which is simply different, focused on real corporeal and mortal risk. As such officers tend to be focused on the dangers posed to their safety in a physical, not just psychological sense. Equipment concerns fell into two realms, positive support for pieces of equipment which were perceived to provide enhanced protection and conversely the absence or insufficiency of equipment leading to heightened risk.

You can never really be safe in this job, the John Smith scenario, but with the kit I've got pava, baton, cuffs, Taser.<sup>1819</sup> The kit does give me some confidence, I'm small of stature. You have to rely on it and your mouth. I would say it helps me. (Officer SW)

I've been to quite a few jobs with knives and a bloke swinging a golf club. You're put into a position where there is that element of doubt, all I've got is pava which works up to 2.5 meters. I think there's quite a lot of times where there is that element of doubt. I would feel safer with Taser. (Officer IE)

Other than equipment directly linked to officer safety the major issue which impacted on officer's perceptions of their safety was the issue of officer numbers. This issue was observed both positively and negatively in both forces, however, the sentiment generated in Westshire was far more significant. Where officers had positive experiences regarding the ability of their colleagues to provide them direct support they reported positively regards the overall resource level, even if they acknowledged pressure upon it at some time.

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<sup>17</sup> PSU – Police Support Unit – A team of 1 Inspector, 3 Sergeants and 21 PCs who form a unit to manage public order situations.

<sup>18</sup> A typical range of personal protective equipment. Pava – an incapacitating spray from Chilli extract. Baton – extendable police baton. Cuffs – handcuffs. Taser - Electronic incapacitating device.

<sup>19</sup> PC John Smith (pseudonym) was a Westshire officer who was killed by stabbing whilst on duty.

I'd say I feel quite safe a lot of the time and will refer back to the team. Outside we tend to be out numbered but I have my team behind me because nine times from ten we tend to win, and just thinking they're behind you is vital. When working by myself I don't feel unsafe but situations where I've felt unsure and had to back away and wait for my team. (Officer PE)

In Eastshire an Inspector was speaking on the phone to a colleague asking to borrow staff, but was refused because the shifts were below minimum strength across several boroughs. Westshire officers, however, reported a much greater pressure upon them and consequently perceived a greater risk to them on an individual basis.

I'm going to be cruelly honest, I think the current economic climate has pushed officer safety down the line, in terms of an organisational priority. I've only been in the job four years and I've noticed a significant drop in the required standards. An example would be the night time economy. When I joined we had two carriers full of officers (some twenty five) focusing on night time economy and nowadays, well it dropped to eighteen, then it went down to fourteen, then they said as long as you have two specials in the mix that still counts as fourteen. We still have the same number of trouble makers on the street, I don't understand how they can be expecting us to do the same job, with the same pressures with the same hours with less and less officers, clearly the risk to officers is rising and I have noticed that people are allowing themselves more and more in their interactions with officers..... As soon as we switched to a central response model we are faced with situations where we have a single van with four officers with back up a long way away. All it takes is a few people to have a fight and you are either unable to control it, or you do control it and your nearest support is ten minutes away. This is what makes me feel unsafe, that I know we don't have enough people to respond to serious stuff should it happen, and it's planning to react after it happens rather than proactively preventing it. I understand that, its financial constraints and lack of resources but it shouldn't be my problem and it shouldn't be my safety or my life on the line because of it. (Officer QW)

The level of sentiment expressed during this interview was significant, but it was not expressed in an hysterical or unrealistic manner, the officer being a high performing, motivated and intelligent individual who was able to project outside of their own environment to try and understand the pressures upon the organisation. This very issue was identified in the 2014 HMIC report of Westshire Police (database 10).

Police officer numbers had been allowed to fall to levels that made effective policing extremely challenging. This placed excessive pressures on staff and officers who

were striving to do a good job in difficult circumstances. Westshire is a small force, with already low levels of resources, set against a backdrop of some serious policing challenges normally encountered in larger metropolitan forces with greater capacity. (HMIC, 2014)

Job resources will be examined in more detail in the following section as they impact more than just psychological safety issues, however, officer safety equipment and officer numbers have been clearly observed to have not just an impact on perception of psychological safety to commit to role behaviours, but also an impact on perceptions of physical safety which has a much more poignant psychological impact.

#### **5.4.6 – Safety – Summary**

All four elements of Kahn's (1990) concept of psychological safety were exhibited within the data. The relative strength of support and trust between members played a role in feelings of security. There was an exhibited hierarchy within each team and examples of significant isolation and ostracism of officers (particularly from specialist departments) through to examples of strong internal team bonds, demonstrating the strong effect of interpersonal relationships upon sentiments of psychological safety. The concept of intra-team hierarchy was manifested at a number of levels, latent racism being an obstacle to gaining status. The pressure to do more work in less time produced a vision of 'good' based on speed, not quality, and consequent pressure for officers to pursue speed as a goal. Transactional management processes and objectives tended to have a disengaging effect whereby officers aimed no higher than the numeric objective, whilst self-interested or hierarchical managers had a detrimental impact on officer psychological welfare. The role of local and job specific knowledge in terms of an organisational norm within the parameters of which officers felt comfortable operating existed at a local level, with officers experiencing stress when asked to physically work outside of that geographic area. The theme which emerged as significant to feelings of safety, was the issue of physical safety within the role, particularly related to officer numbers and personal safety equipment. As such job resource issues related to officer safety played a paramount role in perceptions of safety and need to be theoretically integrated into Kahn's (1990) model for it to provide an adequate description of the policing environment.

### **5.5 - Job Resources**

As described in the previous section, job resources, particularly officer numbers and personal protective equipment play an important role in officer perceptions of safety, however, job resources also play a wider role in influencing officers' engagement in role

behaviours. A much wider range of job resource issues were first identified during the observational stage of the data collection and further expanded by data gleaned during interviews.

In a positive dimension some items of police equipment, particularly mobile data were observed to have a meaningful impact on officers' ways of working. Mobile data terminals in cars were being rolled out during the research phase and provided in-car access to all of the corporate IT systems that previously would have required an officer to return to a police station.

There is nothing that really needs to change, the mobile data is amazing and makes things a lot easier without having to come back to a station. Any sort of report, statements, photos, logs, checks all can be done there and then wherever you are. That is a real positive. Whether that will mean less police stations and officers, it's saving time. (Officer FE)

Officer FE identified the potential flip side of the efficiency being realised here, namely the organisational opportunity to abstract that efficiency in terms of reduced officer numbers to reflect the time saving being achieved. The technology is clearly a tool not just to improve effectiveness but also to assist the organisations in their pursuit of financial savings.

Equipment more generally was cited as a factor restricting officers being able to perform their full potential. There were numerous examples of officers both physically experiencing problems in getting the job done and also commenting on pieces of missing equipment. An officer attended the sudden death of an elderly person, following which he was required to send the completed forms to the coroner's officer. Having been sent from Westshire town A to attend the incident (in Westshire town is B some twenty-five minutes drive away) he went into Westshire town B police station in order to send the forms. At the station, none of the phones/faxes were working, nor was IT access working, hence the officer had to travel twenty five minutes back to Westshire town A to access IT/telephony which allowed him to transmit the information. This was a theme picked up in the Westshire staff survey results (database 15 and 16) in which officers commented on a shower room that had been out of action for 6 weeks, a cross trainer in a gym that was "held together by Sellotape" and two broken rowing machines. Other basic equipment was also complained about.

Lack of police cars and the fact that they're taken off the road and we might have 2 or 3 taken off the road at the same time and then we have to double people up. Equipment is not as accessible. You ask for a pair of women's trousers on the system and it brings up a set of bar codes without descriptions. (Officer IE)

An unknown officer was overheard to comment upon just having received three shirts from stores, stating “I work really hard and they won’t even give me a couple of shirts to work in, they really stink after a while wearing them every day even when they’re washed”. During patrol the Automatic Vehicle Location System (AVLS) on the vehicle the officer was driving was not working. This piece of equipment allows the control room to identify where a police vehicle is for deployment purposes but also provides a crucial safety role in being able to identify where a vehicle and officer is, should they require emergency assistance. Method of entry equipment is used to force entry into premises and is often required in emergency to gain entry into a premises in which someone is medically incapacitated, hence a high degree of urgency. Insufficient method of entry equipment was available in Westshire cars, requiring officers to return to a station to collect the kit before being able to use it. There was focus even upon comparatively small items of equipment that were not provided, or around which there were problems getting access.

Equipment that worked properly and having it on hand. So really basic things like you have to buy your own torch. (Officer JE)

Missing equipment appeared to simply frustrate officers. In cases where the shortage/non-functioning of equipment dictated an additional journey the kit was not so much affecting officers’ psychological availability but their actual physical availability. In respect of lacking equipment this also had an impact on officers’ perception of their role status (meaningfulness – role characteristics) relative to other departments.

Intervention are deemed the lowest of the low, we don’t get any specialist kit. (Officer PE)

It is apparent that lacking equipment, or experiencing difficulties getting access to what is available affects officers’ sense of meaning in what they are doing and forces people to question the value that the organisation ascribes to them in that role and as individuals. Some missing equipment also physically restricts officer availability to do their role.

Training and lateral or vertical development opportunities were also areas where officers found motivation, but subsequent frustration when choices were constrained. When officers were provided an opportunity, even when it didn’t immediately lead to success they found satisfaction in having been given the development opportunity.

My work aspiration is to get promoted to move on. I think its continued commitment, I hope the last (unsuccessful) process will stand me in good stead, so I suppose the

opportunity to have a go at things. If I hadn't of done this acting role I wouldn't have learnt. (Officer OE)

When an apparent route to development was blocked or perceived to be blocked, this generated a negative psychological effect for the officer.

I need to gain experience around complex investigations, I need to develop the detective side of my experience. There is no easy way in. You have to be in a job to get the course. It's quite hard even to move laterally. I haven't had a course since my custody course 4-5 years ago. To do it I'd need to get a CIT job.<sup>20</sup> I'd like the opportunity to self-learn, maybe a structured route. (Officer EE)

The psychological effect is clear that officers feel constrained by their role and the status it holds (meaningfulness – role characteristics), a perception which is reinforced when they are unable to pursue a particular development opportunity. Salanova, Llorens and Schaufeli (2011, p. 279) describe the probable effects of an efficacy-engagement gain spiral over time, whereby feeling self-efficacious positively influences enthusiasm which in turn heightens work engagement which in turn increases feeling of self-efficacy. It is apparent that lacking development opportunities provide the potential structural spectre of inhibiting such a positive psychological spiral. If an officer is unable to acquire their own development opportunity, they are likely to become less enthusiastic, less engaged and therefore less likely to seek their own development opportunities in future. In an austere fiscal climate where opportunities are ever more remote, this is a significant issue for both organisations.

The last element of job resources which has already been mentioned in relation to officer psychological safety is the issue of officer numbers. This was expressed as either a desire to spend more time at specific incidents/jobs or simply a statement regarding reduced officer numbers both within the immediate team and also other teams which provide a service to response officers. Available time, and available resources are of course two sides of the same resource coin. In relation to time, officers expressed frustration at the level of service they felt they were delivering due to the pressure of having to move on to the next job.

Time, you get point to pointed asking what you're doing.<sup>21</sup> You go to a burglary and you can see people looking at you "what's he doing, my house has just been burgled". The number thing's been addressed allegedly, but it's the time, working

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<sup>20</sup> CIT – Case Investigation Team – Volume crime team managing in custody cases – generally a first step towards becoming a detective.

<sup>21</sup> Point to Point – Direct radio contact, much like a phone call.

double crewed they expect you to do it twice as fast. We lack customer service, we just don't get enough time with our customers and it shows. (Officer NW)

Given that public service motivation and getting a result have been observed as key motivators, the restriction of an officer's ability to deliver what they feel is a meaningful service creates an organisational norm (safety) which is likely to constrain a significant section of the workforce, causing them to feel stress when they do take longer on a specific job.

The significant differences between the case settings will be examined thoroughly in the following section, however, it is in respect of officer numbers where the most significant differences between case settings was observed. Officer numbers were commented upon, not just in terms of perceptions of physical safety, but also lacking support from other departments which provide a service to the response team.

Bigger workforce with more colleagues to be more effective. Sometimes we're running on a few people and you're not spending as much time at each job as you'd like to but you're not because it's job to job, another immediate coming in. So in order to effectively do the job there needs to be more police officers. Case Investigation are quite good, but they need a bigger workforce. It's my job to go out and arrest the people, it's their job to investigate it, but when you only have three people then they're saying they can't deal with and then you're having to do another department's job. (Officer TE)

It can, therefore, be seen that job resource issues play an invasive role across a broad range of Kahn's (1990) taxonomy of psychological preconditions, particularly safety and meaningfulness but also have a physical restrictive capacity. The mobile data project was observed as a powerful step forward in facilitating officer role more efficiently, however, equipment was more generally perceived in the negative dimension, due to its poor state of repair, its unavailability or its inadequacy. Equipment issues like this had the effect of influencing officers' perception of status. The reduced training and development opportunities reported, create an organisationally risk filled scenario whereby the possibility of an efficacy loss spiral is created. Base resource levels appeared to effect both the amount of time officers were able to commit to individual incidents and also the level of support front line officers received from other departments. The overall impact of job resources pressures of this kind is an aggregation of factors that not only limit individual facets of Kahn's (1990) model of preconditions but are also a necessary structural and organisational provision at a base level. The issue of job resources and their interaction requires a re-statement of Kahn's (1990) model if the core elements of it are to remain coherent.



## 5.6 – Diverse case comparison

The thematic analysis has been conducted by the identification of themes from both case settings simultaneously, and for the overwhelming majority of themes whilst there is a level of variance between the two cases, the overriding nature of the theme is not altered. There are a number of thematic areas, however, where the diverse nature of the cases has demonstrated significantly different data. Having selected Eastshire and Westshire as diverse cases displaying different developmental traits, this dichotomy was both expected and beneficial, retroductive triangulation not requiring all data to agree, rather to allow abstraction to a “clearer understanding” (Wynn and Williams, 2012, p. 803). As such difference is crucial in bringing underlying causal explanations into focus.

Officers from both forces reported concerns and aspirations for more or better equipment or general improvement in some area of their working conditions. To an extent this is a normal human condition to the types of questions to which the interviewees were exposed, however, the response from Westshire officers tended to demonstrate a far greater emphasis on base or hygiene factors.

This morning, that soon, after a 12 hour shift I got off late last night, by the time you get home get something to eat and go straight to bed. This morning I just couldn't motivate myself. It's the tiredness that drags you down, it makes you low. Yesterday was meant to be a 07x1900 but a serious assault came in and as soon as we arrived I knew it was going to drag on. The Sergeant was not interested, we thought let's get positive about it and crack on. This shift (weekend 12 hours) wears you down. Sleep deprivation, it's not the time it's the tiredness, lack of sleep leads onto depression. They've just changed the shift pattern and it's a nightmare. No disrespect to any of the ranks but they don't work it. Performance is going to suffer, I see people cutting corners. (Officer NW)

Officers from Eastshire reported tiredness, issues with shifts and a range of other concerns, but not at this level of vehemence and not citing absolute basic human physiological needs like sleep and food. Documentary data triangulated with the interview data in this respect with the Westshire staff survey results (database 14 and 15) citing officer comments regarding the workforce not being regarded as important to senior leaders. It is clear that the vehemence of sentiment reported by some Westshire officers suggests that the preconditions and job resources related to availability are stretched within the organisation.

In similar vein individuals from within both case settings reported satisfaction with and concern with officer numbers. Again however, the sense of vehemence and considered threat to officer safety was more acute in Westshire.

We are so stretched and the volume and type of jobs is very demanding and unless we were keeping each other safe I don't think the organisation would be able to do it by itself. (Officer QW)

Perhaps the officer misses a fundamental point here, in that the mechanism by which the organisation keeps any individual officer safe is through the vicarious responsibility on all the other officers to assist one in need, however, the important issue is the individual's perception.

### **5.7 – Conclusion and summary of findings**

In summary these findings represent the material which has emerged from the data and the critical realist interpretation of it within the intermediate level. In summary these findings can be highlighted aligned to Kahn's (1990) framework. This involved a total of eleven sub-facets of three factors of psychological preconditions measured against the observed behaviours from two diverse case settings and three sources of data. Much of the impetus of the finding is confirmation of strong observations of Kahn's (1990) dynamics.

As component features of meaningfulness factors of challenge, delineation, variety, creativity and autonomy were all strongly observed (particularly within accounts from an ex-neighbourhood officer). Autonomy was also observed to play a double edged role whereby it provided space for disengagement. Three role identities were observed, namely 'crime fighter', 'public servant' and a replay of a traditional identity 'uniform carrier'. A drive to 'get a result' influenced by public service motivation was strongly evident. Officers found meaning in their interactions with children and vulnerable people, were easily influenced by simple internal pleasantries and the ability to make a meaningful intervention in a scenario mediated whether that individual was perceived as a 'proper victim'.

As constituent factors of safety, examples of strong team solidarity through to ostracism were observed, illuminating clearly concerns of trust and support. Unofficial hierarchy was observed, manifested in physical displays. Latent racism was evident whilst speed of work had become a paramount organisational focus, threatening the peer status of those who were slow or wanted to focus on quality. A broad range of management behaviours from supportive through to self-interested and hierarchical were seen. Negative leadership behaviours had a detrimental impact on officers. Performance indicators appeared to play a

disengaging role. Officers were confident when operating within occupational and physical boundaries which they knew. Some organisational processes served to frustrate officers who sought to deliver a more holistic service.

As manifestations of availability, officers spoke of needing sleep and food breaks, clearly demonstrating the validity of the construct. The concept of 'getting a result' driven by public service motivation served to inspire individuals and teams. The level of security officers felt regards their work and status was observed, with examples of isolation, and commentary on the nature of police solidarity. Home life was observed to play both a positive and negative role on work life, whilst work life was only seen to play a negative on home life. The detachment effect of taking off a uniform and leaving the police station may provide a positive welfare effect.

Whilst the observations here are important, they do not yet fulfil all of Wynn and Williams (2012, p. 796) principles for uncovering critical realist knowledge from case studies. This chapter has charted the thematic emergence from the research data as summarised above. In order to complete the critical realist enterprise and turn these observations into explanatory knowledge of social reality as the interaction of human beings and social structures in the intermediate level it is necessary to draw the themes together. That enterprise is fulfilled in the following chapter.

## **6.0 – Contribution to theory and practice**

This chapter fulfils the critical realist task of “moving beyond the immediately postulated level of events” (Downward and Mearman, 2007, p. 88) by means of retrodution to discover the mechanisms of social reality. In so doing it highlights the key theoretical contributions of this work. It is argued that Kahn’s (1990) construct of personal engagement and the psychological preconditions of safety, availability and meaningfulness ultimately hold most utility as an applied theory of engagement. It is also suggested that the context of policing in the UK has been fundamentally altered in a relatively recent past by successive waves of governmental ‘reform’, fiscal austerity and politicisation of policing agendas. In this context (and as such aligned with critical realism’s requirement for knowledge to be historically and geographically rooted) it is argued that augmentation is required to Kahn’s (1990) model if it is to account for this context. That augmentation is the proposition of material preconditions (as opposed to psychological preconditions) as a necessary precursor to both psychological safety and availability. It is argued that only if basic material needs are in place will an individual’s subconscious mind turn to questions of the fulfilment of a psychological climate as a precondition to in role personal engagement.

In addition to this major theoretical development the chapter also highlights secondary contributions including the proposition that, contrary to previous findings, negative home experiences can have causal effect at work, and the probability of an efficacy-engagement loss spiral in an environment of fiscal austerity. From a police culture perspective the major theoretical proposition is that the pace and scale of change has created an environment which challenges key aspects of police cultural literature, particularly the classic view of mission-action-cynicism-pessimism. It is suggested that public service motivation, the concepts of ‘getting a result’ and the motivational construct of ‘proper victims’ all show aspects of classical literature to be outdated in current context. This scale and pace of change add to the contextual conditions which prompt a review of Kahn’s (1990) model of engagement, because it is the fundamental stress upon officers which highlights the issue of lacking material job resources. The chapter concludes with an examination of the research findings in practice and in pursuit of the DBA’s practitioner aims, suggestions for organisational interventions aligned to the research findings.

### **6.1 – Why Kahn’s (1990) model is fundamentally preferred**

The findings chapter showed overwhelming confirmation of all eleven facets of Kahn’s (1990) three constructs of psychological preconditions. In so doing the basic construct of Kahn’s model was shown to be a necessary set of preconditions for engagement. The interrelation between human beings and social constructs was clear in showing how

psychological issues influenced the fulfilment of a climate in which officers were either enabled or prevented from giving of their best in role. Throughout the data there are numerous examples of how Kahn's model works in practice. In emulating some of Kahn's (1990) qualitative methods, this research has applied a radically different research paradigm to the issue of employee engagement and the quality of the narrative evidence speaks for itself in proving not only the value in the theoretical construct, but also validation of the methodological combination of case study and critical realism in delivering clear triangulated retroductively validated evidence. That said, whilst Kahn's (1990) psychological preconditions of safety, availability and meaningfulness are necessary preconditions for engagement, they are not sufficient in context. With critical realism's assertion of knowledge as fallible rooted in place and time, this context is crucial in providing a critical realist account of engagement in the police. It is only through examination of the theoretical construct of psychological safety, availability and meaningfulness within the research setting that issues of police culture and organisational flux have emerged as incompatible with an unmoderated model of engagement.

## **6.2 – The emergent aspects of police culture and those for which Kahn's (1990) unmoderated model of engagement cannot account**

The emergent theoretical contributions to police cultural literature can be divided between factors related to the scale of change in policing, the impact of those changes on officers' considerations of their environment, and the subsequent impact on conceptualisations of a climate of engagement. These are interwoven with those related to a revision of classical views of police culture.

Views of traditional culture have been criticised for trying to represent a single monolithic commentary which was largely negative and "downplayed the scope for variation in police behaviour and orientation" (Cockcroft, 2013, p. 79). Others have argued that traditional interpretations remain valid, that current scholarship "overstates the potential for change in police culture, and accordingly overlooks the continuities and inertia in police disposition and practice" (Loftus, 2009, p. 198). To a degree both are correct, the data here clearly demonstrates some resonance with traditional views of culture, however, one of Loftus' (2009, p. 199) key findings was that where national and local police environments have been transformed, that transformation is "incomplete" and as such culture endures. In the ten years since Loftus completed her work it is apparent that what was once incomplete has now been placed into fast forward, driven by the recession of 2007-2008, fiscal contraction directed by a Home Office agenda for the application of business thinking in the public sector (Barton, 2013, p. 221) and the overall politicisation of crime and policing (Savage, 2007, p.

331). It is apparent that this invasive driver for budgetary reduction is delivering a change agenda at greater pace and with greater poignancy than has ever previously been seen, that this, alongside existing reforms which are coming to fruition are changing both the underlying structures of policing (governance, pensions, length of service, numbers of officers, identity of organisations, progression prospects) and also the very makeup of the service. This research focused on frontline response teams where all new recruits start their careers. This dictates that a greater proportion of officers in those positions (than other departments) have entered the organisation under a fundamentally different set of terms and conditions than their predecessors and as such may well view their legal and psychological contract with the organisation in different terms. This appears to play a role in why traditional cultural commentary is no longer able to adequately explain all of the observed behaviours and statements.

Public service motivation plays a key role in challenging the traditional view of “mission-action-cynicism-pessimism” (Reiner, 2010, p. 119). The fundamental change here is that traditionally “Getting a Result” constituted an ensnarement of a criminal motivated by the playing of a ritualised game, the hedonistic love of action involved in that ensnarement and a moralistic superiority over the public policed. “Getting a Result” is now more motivated by a focus on the outcome for the individual member of the public, a more humble and respectful perception of the officer as part of the society which they police, motivated by public service motivation. In questioning why this may be so, one must reflect on the terms and conditions offered to new recruits. Whilst police pay and conditions have fluctuated relative to comparative living standards across the decades, the pension, terms of conditions and pay have in comparatively recent times been perceived as a positive reason to join. As demonstrated by police demonstrations over pay and conditions in May 2012, whereby a reported 30,000 officers (Laville, 2012) marched through central London in protest at the proposed Hutton and Winsor changes and Hoggett et al’s (2014, p. 65) demonstration of 97 per cent officer dissatisfaction with the Winsor reviews, this sentiment is changing. Public service motivation has always played a role in officer motivation, however, with less attractive financial prospects the motivation for joining must be increasingly alternate. It is argued that this deepening public service motivation is a core change in policing culture. This insight may prompt a review of the mechanisms identified by existing police cultural theorists of how officers move towards pessimistic and cynical behaviour. Certainly the traditional theorists are correct when they identify pessimism and cynicism, indeed such factors were identified in this research, and are clearly demonstrated by the number of scandals faced by policing in the recent past. A worthy line of fresh research would involve a reassessment of how pessimism and cynicism operate in an environment apparently more

greatly influenced by altruistic public service motivation. Circumstances which inhibit officer's fulfilling such public service motivation ultimately may have a greater negative psychological influence than the realisation of the everyday absence of thrill and excitement.

Attitudes of intragroup solidarity did not appear to endure with the level of veracity suggested by classical scholars (Skolnick, 2008, p. 37). Whilst strong team bonds were evident the data also showed the normal social ebb and flow that one would expect within any non-police collegial group. Again the reasoning behind this may be the result of a changing makeup of the service. The representation of minority ethnic persons and women in policing has been traditionally disproportionately low and remains so relative to the makeup of the public policed, yet the police is becoming more diverse over time. In 2013, percentages of female officer representation had risen to 27.3 per cent nationally and percentages of minority ethnic persons had risen year on year from 3.3 per cent in 2004 to 5 per cent in 2012 and 2013 (Home Office, 2013). Less homogeneity may account for less traditionally perceived solidarity.

Autonomy or discretion has been seen as a central feature of police culture with inevitable consequences that such discretion can be used to "define crime" and "concentrate attention on vulnerable sections of the community" (Waddington, 1999a, p. 35). The data revealed an endurance of police autonomy which as per Kahn's (1990, p. 704) description of task characteristics and its emphasis on challenge, delineation, variety, creativity and autonomy, had the simultaneous ability to both create the conditions for role engagement and the space for disengagement. Management initiatives such as a pursuit of performance statistics were easily subverted with officers displaying disengagement in the face of such mechanisms. In essence once an officer leaves the station, their discretion to use their policing powers is total, and represents an enduring element of traditional commentary.

The revealed role identities of crime fighter/new centurion and uniform carrier were those of traditional literature (Reiner, 2010, p. 120). However, a new classification emerged in the data which is coherent with previous commentary related to the changing motivations for joining the police. This new role identity was of the public servant, an individual who shows genuine care towards the public, goes the extra mile in seeking a positive resolution (often with other public sector partners) and in reciprocation finds value in the thanks they receive from the public directly. This role identity reflects a growing apparent emphasis on public service motivation as the overwhelming driver of contemporary police behaviour within the case settings.

Many of the police categorisations of the public emanate from an assessment of nature of the individual prejudiced by police right wing views (Skolnick, 2008, p. 37). The research

data, however, emphasises that officers still clearly make a distinction between victims whom they perceive as 'proper' or not. The changing dynamic appears that the mediating factor as to the classification of the individual is not so influenced by some socio-demographic prejudice, but by the officer's assessment of whether they are able to deliver a meaningful intervention to that individual with their policing efforts. In some ways this is a valuable development as it suggests officers are less influenced by their own prejudices in discharging their duties, however, it also demonstrates that in making a distinction between proper and improper victims they fail to make appropriate threat assessments which would lead them to invest more effort in some of those whom they categorise as 'improper'. This factor raises a challenge for the police in trying to improve delivery of services to victims, particularly in the field of domestic violence, in which the repeat nature of incidents renders officers more likely to ascribe a 'improper' label and as such deliver a less good service. Ultimately the categorisation of victims as proper or improper casts light on the prejudices and decision making criteria of officers. Whether officers are more influenced by a traditional hedonistic love of action, or by their ability to make a public service motivated meaningful intervention, if the end result either way results in those who most need help not getting it, then more attention needs to be paid to this area. Certainly the subject of officer decision making criteria is a subject worthy of further research in an attempt to further examine the prejudices at play in public service delivery.

Examples of extreme internal racism were exhibited within the data. Whilst the incidents of internal racism were shocking in their own right what was perhaps most concerning was officer comments that the majority of minority ethnic officers experience some level of racism in the service, particularly during their early years. Rowe (2004) dedicated an entire book to the exploration of the impact of the Macpherson (1999) report, and his conclusions involve a complex linkage of wider societal issues, however, his general message is that whilst many of the individual responses to the Macpherson (1999) report are valuable in their own right the "absence of a fundamental programme of reform that addresses the institutional role of the police and confronts racism in all its guises" (Rowe, 2004, p. 168) ultimately fails to deliver meaningful change. Based on the data observed here, this position can only be supported.

In summary, a clear challenge is levied against the conceptualisation of classically motivated scholars (Reiner 2010, Loftus, 2009, Skolnick, 2008). The essential argument is that the environmental and organisational conditions in which these classic images of police culture were developed have changed so dramatically in a short space of time as to make those classical views invalid. The backdrop for this research has been austerity and politicisation of the policing agenda, with both organisations facing substantial budgetary reductions and



changing (worsening) staff terms and conditions. This context has not only applied to policing, but a similar pressure across all public agencies has seen a retraction of those agencies from activity in the public sphere, or even problems in delivering core functions. This inevitably places pressure on policing, which is both publically perceived to be and is in fact the lowest common denominator between agencies and is ultimately called upon to pick up issues that fall between the cracks. It is this rapidly evolved and evolving, highly pressured environment which has created the conditions for this research. The stress impact on officers (particularly in Westshire) is clear. It is these job resource pressures which challenge Kahn's (1990) model of psychological preconditions, because of their physical as opposed to psychological manifestation.

### **6.3 – A retroductively moderated model of Kahn's (1990) preconditions for engagement**

Whilst Kahn's (1990) model of preconditions for engagement was validated as necessary in the research setting it was not sufficient. The model was not able to properly account for issues of lacking material job resources in a sufficient manner. Part of this is due to the difference in research setting between Kahn's (1990) work and this study. The case setting in which Kahn (1990) conducted his observations (children's summer camp and an architectural firm) manifested a different level of physical risk than policing. Whilst commentators reflect that the reality of policing is often mundane, it is manifestly true that moments of significant risk do exist for patrol officers. This focus on personal safety illuminates a clear classification of job resources. Firstly there are those issues of job resources which have a material impact on the safety or availability officers going about their duty. Secondly there are those job resources which have a psychological effect. Those which play a material role include, officer numbers, personal protective equipment and lacking general equipment.

The number of officers amongst whom the work is split physically affects those who are doing that work. It affects how much sleep they get (through shift patterns and extended hours), how often they are able to eat (shifts being so busy that there is no time to eat) and physical safety (insufficient officers to assist when violence ensues). The nature of the PPE carried by officers physically affects their capabilities faced with a given situation. This is not to endorse a call for all officers to be routinely armed, simply to recognise that PPE physically changes the range of options an officer may choose between when faced with a scenario. Some lacking equipment creates physical unavailability. For example if an officer needs to forcibly gain entry into a premises, yet has no immediate access to the necessary

equipment, then that officer is physically unavailable to complete that role until they have travelled to collect the necessary kit.

It is apparent, therefore, that a number of material job resources exist (equipment, officer numbers, PPE) which physically affect an officer's ability to be either available or safe. These are not psychological factors, but material ones. The second group of job resource issues, whilst having been delineated through interviews and observation analysis, actually represent psychological manifestations.

Whilst officer numbers have a physical effect on officer safety, the perception of the sufficiency of resources is the factor which actually affects how safe officers feel in their environment. The data has shown that different officers from both case settings report simultaneous feelings of safety and fear related to officer numbers and violence threatened to them. As such the reality of the risk factor posed by the numbers of officers available cannot be the sole factor which dictates psychological safety. It can, however, form an effective benchmark level below which officer vehemence and lacking feeling of safety escalate, as is the Westshire experience. Kahn's (1990) range of psychological safety factors dictate that full experiential quality of the physical reality, however, the physical job resource at an appropriate level can be understood as a benchmark physical precursor, which if dropped below, inhibits actual and perceived safety and availability. Some equipment has either a physical safety critical role or affects the physical availability of an officer to complete tasks. The psychological effect of absence of such equipment is a perception that the organisation ascribes little value to that role, in essence an effect on role characteristic and meaningfulness. Reduced training or development opportunities also play a predominantly psychological role in that lacking opportunity or development blockages also effect perceptions of the value or status of role and ultimately meaningfulness.

The summary is, therefore, that some job resources have a primarily psychological impact (training and development). Those factors can on retroductive reflection be subsumed within Kahn's (1990) existing model as examples of the relevant psychological precondition, because they do not have causal powers outside of the psychological classification. This leaves a number of job resource issues that have both a material effect on the environment in which officers operate, and a subsequent psychological one. The material effect can be perceived as an effective benchmark below which actual safety and availability and experienced availability and safety will be compromised. As such the physical job resources are a necessary precursor to the psychological preconditions.

Material job resource issues only appear to have a corresponding physical effect aligned with availability and safety, not meaningfulness. This is coherent, in that having meaning is

an inherently psychological phenomena, whilst being available and safe have dual physical and psychological manifestations. It therefore follows that a revised model of Kahn's preconditions needs to include the material job resource factors of sufficiency of resources and job essential equipment as material precursors to psychological availability and safety. This model is of particular relevance to those occupational environments in which physical risk is a more apparent phenomena. Figure five describes how these material preconditions can be reconciled with Kahn's (1990) original model of engagement.

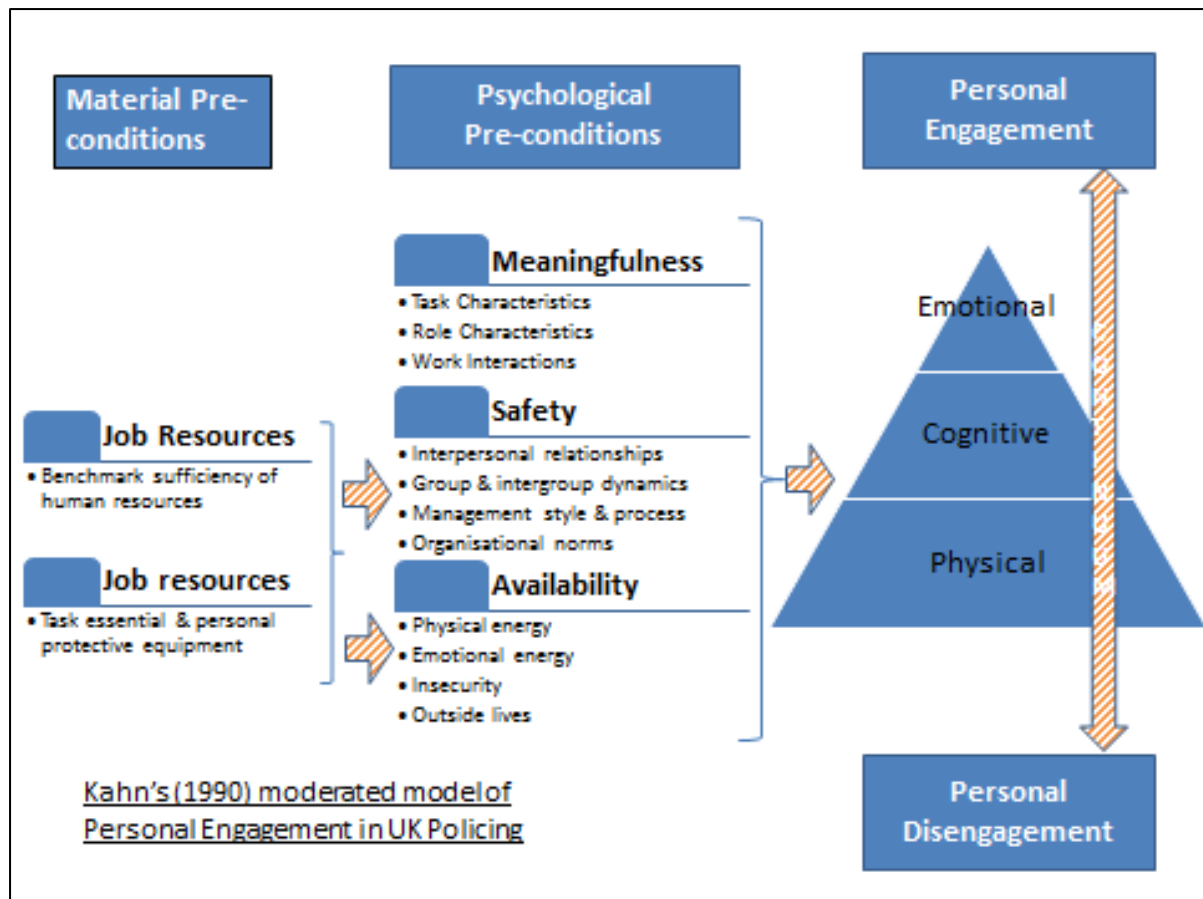


Figure 7 – Retroductively moderated model of personal engagement in UK policing

This model describes the major theoretical contribution of this research. Importantly the research is in context, which is a crucial critical realist prerequisite. The internal validity of Kahn's (1990) model, particularly within a relatively low risk environment, is supported by the research data. There is good evidence to support all eleven facets of the three psychological pre-conditions of availability, meaningfulness and safety. In seeking to understand the interaction in the critical realist intermediate level, however, it became clear that in occupations such as policing which exhibit external physical risk factors, a necessary additional layer of material pre-conditions become necessary at a benchmark level. It was as a result of a radically changed organisational setting, and in Westshire stressed,

organisational climate, that the prominence of these material preconditions became evident. Psychological preconditions of safety and availability will not be fulfilled if this benchmark material level is not first fulfilled. Whilst safety perceptions may vary between individuals it is argued that the increasing vehemence of Westshire officers, matched with the reality of low officer numbers suggests that Westshire is an example of an organisation which is approaching that benchmark. Currently some officers within the organisation still report feelings of personal safety, however, it is argued that once a lower benchmark level of physical resource is reached that variance would evaporate and attitudes would converge. Proof of the concept would require an environment whereby the benchmark status was reached. In such an environment one would expect overwhelming sentiments of lacking safety.

Thus Kahn's (1990) model of psychological preconditions has been partially validated as necessary but not sufficient in creating a climate of engagement in which officers can give fully of themselves in role. An amendment of the theory has been suggested which enables the model to account for the higher risk occupational cultures and a focus on the material preconditions for a climate of engagement. In sequence, fulfilment of job resources, namely sufficient human resource and appropriate and adequate task specific protective and operational equipment are necessary material preconditions to the psychological preconditions of availability and safety which with meaningfulness collectively forms a climate of engagement which predicts physical, cognitive and emotional personal role engagement. In operationalising this model it is necessary to position an organisation along a continuum, whereby one end represents the lower benchmark of resourcing measured against demand and one end represents a state of relative resource health. When applied in practice it is suggested that one size will not fit all organisations and interventions should be tailored accordingly.

#### **6.4 – Other theoretical contributions**

In addition to the major theoretical development of Kahn's (1990) model some additional engagement related theoretical observations are offered. Rothbard's (2001) work postulated the direction of causal effect between home and work life, suggesting there was no causal link between negative home experiences and negative work experiences. The data gleaned here contradicts Rothbard's (2001) conclusion suggesting that indeed negative home experiences do strongly effect work experiences for both men and women. Negative work experiences were the only work experiences which were observed to have a causal effect on home experiences. Positive work experiences have been shown in the data to have a time lagged (overnight) positive effect on an individual and team environment suggesting that

opportunities for positive effect work to home life exist but are not realised. This suggests that time is not the blocking factor which insulates home life from work negative experiences. It is postulated that the very nature and role of the response officer, the removal of their uniform when at home, their removal of equipment before leaving the station and the physical inability for them to do work whilst at home provides an effective detachment which only very strong (negative) emotions are able to transcend. Some research (Sonnentag et al., 2008) has suggested that this sort of detachment is a factor related positively to employee well-being and as such could be an organisationally adopted strategy for combating work related stress for those whom the delineation between work and home is less clear. In an age where more employees are being provided twenty four hour mobile connectivity with their work environment, mandated detachment when away from the workplace may become an effective and necessary engagement tool.

Efficacy-engagement gain spirals have been suggested by Salanova, Llorens and Schaufeli (2011), however, the data for this study raised the spectre of a possible efficacy-engagement loss spiral prompted by an austere fiscal climate and reducing organisational opportunities for training and either lateral or vertical progression. The potential for large scale disengagement caused by static organisations which lack opportunity for their staff is a particular risk for the police service because of the unique contractual arrangements and the lacking mechanism for making police officers redundant. In austerity the identification of development opportunities for officers, within apparent organisational constraints, is an issue which requires attention.

### **6.5 – Contribution to practice**

Both one of the research objectives and an objective of a DBA relate to practical application of theory. One of the defining traditional features of traditional police culture is its emphasis on the pragmatic. This emphasis is aligned with the aims of the professional doctorate, that is the desire to apply learning in the practical setting. What therefore, is the police strategic leader to make of the theoretical findings from this study? Certainly an understanding of Kahn's (1990) psychological preconditions will assist but an organisation needs a more operationalised diagnostic instrument and subsequent ability to apply policies and organisational interventions which will make a difference. The key to achieving this lies with an ability to accurately assess an organisation along a continuum at the ends of which lie burnt out and healthy organisations respectively. These two poles were largely observed in the data. Westshire exhibited traits of an organisation which was struggling to meet many of its outward performance goals, was financially stretched and in which staff members primary concerns appeared to be on material 'hygiene' factors caused ostensibly by under

resourcing and lacking equipment. Eastshire exhibited traits at the other end of the continuum with strong outward performance, relative financial comfort, a workforce more focused on personal development and progression. It has already been argued (Chapter 2) that theoretically burnout engagement is devalued as a concept of engagement, because engagement and burnout have been empirically shown not to inhabit opposite ends of the same continuum. That said, the tools of burnout engagement such as the Maslach Burnout Inventory (Maslach and Leiter, 1997, Maslach and Jackson, 1981) provide a ready-made pre-operationalised instrument of burnout measurement. Such tools may be deployed usefully in an organisational setting, benchmarked against other organisational data, not as a dual test of engagement burnout but to examine the single factor of burnout relative to other organisations. The use of such a research instrument cannot hope to identity the same depth of information regarding an organisational context as has been achieved through this study, however, that would not be the purpose. The aim of using such a research instrument would be to guide an organisation in how to operationalise the moderated model of engagement presented here. For organisations which exhibit more burnout factors, the author would advocate a greater concentration on organisational interventions which aimed at delivering material pre-conditions for engagement. Hence the most efficient organisational intervention would be achieved by resolving issues such as shift patterns, demand modelling per officer, introduction of policies and processes which protected rest periods for sleep and food, appropriate monitoring of policies and processes surrounding internal discipline/grievance/racism/sexism and the provision of appropriate welfare and occupational health facilities. For organisations which exhibit fewer burnout factors the author would advocate a greater concentration on organisational interventions designed to provide challenge job demands alongside a continued emphasis on appropriate psychological support in respect of the psychological pre-conditions for engagement. Hence for less 'burnt-out' organisations, greater emphasis on policies and procedures which provided development and stretch opportunities for staff, within the context of continued application to issues of psychological safety, availability and meaningfulness.

Some specific organisational interventions which might be considered and were identified through the research process are as follows:

Material job resources focused interventions

- Provision of equipment and cars which work – Having method of entry equipment within cars so as to avoid having to return to a station to collect it. Ensure vehicles are serviced and repaired quickly.

- Ensure the issue of personal protective equipment to individuals is commensurate with the risks encountered and communicate the rationale for the issue of such equipment.
- Ensure modelling between demand and officer numbers who respond to that is appropriate.
- Monitor and enforce working time regulations to reduce excessive working hours and fatigue.<sup>1</sup>
- Use fatigue index monitoring with teams.
- Evaluate appropriate leave levels to provide sufficient opportunity for leave, but ensuring sufficient on duty resource.

#### Psychological safety focused interventions

- Have local supervisory staff manage the service of police Regulations notices for investigations to minimise the trauma element of these experiences.
- Reduce the time taken to conduct internal investigation processes.
- Continue to improve diversity of the organisation.
- When deploying officers outside of their local areas double crew them with local officers who are familiar.
- “Be nice to one another” – simple welcomes and pleasantries had a significant impact on officer experiences when in new areas.

#### Psychological availability focused interventions

- Implementation of reduced cost childcare services within key organisational locations – child care and the balance of home/work life was a regularly expressed issue.
- Senior and middle management staff to spend time on the shop floor, not just being out with teams but actually doing the job such that they can properly appreciate the blockers and enablers for a given task.
- Manage sickness robustly with greater use of home visits to support those who are sick and discourage sickness ‘allowance’ mentality.

#### Psychological meaningfulness focused interventions

- Initiatives which allow officers to feel they are making a difference tend to empower and energise – providing officers who work in teams focused on single issues with

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<sup>1</sup> Whilst police forces are exempt from the provision of the European Working Time Directive, most do monitor staff hours and the benchmark levels can provide useful thresholds for restriction on individual duties.

opportunity to engage in occasional projects which provide a longer term problem solving platform would provide continued engagement.

- Provide specialist/development opportunities to staff such that they are better prepared for opportunities which do arise, or are able to rule out areas of ultimate less interest.
- Allow some environmental creativity within police stations – As a relatively conservative organisation, the police station environments were observed to reinforce the vertical hierarchy of the organisational structure and a maintenance of the status quo. A physical environment which both allowed greater expression of personal identity in the workplace and which challenged organisational hierarchy would provide opportunities for a wider spectrum of people to find meaning in their work.
- Review the role of numerical targets – evidence suggests these were regularly perceived as transactional targets to be achieved with the purpose of ‘keeping the sergeant off our back’ as opposed in the pursuit of an organisational objective.

Whilst no data have been sought to confirm these possible interventions, each is focused around one of the factors of the moderated model of engagement suggested in this research, either one of Kahn’s (1990) psychological preconditions or the suggested material preconditions. In seeking to remedy challenges to engagement generally and specifically challenges to engagement influenced by lacking material preconditions, police forces should adopt a range of the above tactical approaches tailored to their specific environment. Practical application of this theory has been applied by the author in a peer consultancy environment in which high subject volume, high yield qualitative data has been captured using the moderated model of engagement as a question set frame. Such approaches are able to quickly identify both the psychological and material issues which are affecting a particular group. Cross referencing the results of such qualitative analysis with hotspot HR data from sources such as sickness, performance, internal grievance and customer satisfaction data (observed at the work unit level) will provide a rich and accurate analysis both of where within an organisation there is an engagement problem, and the issues which need resolving in that immediate environment to improve the overall climate. Issues related to material job resources will generally require the investment of analytic demand modelling techniques (to balance workload), alongside review of policies and management approaches to place the welfare of officers on a higher priority.

The list of suggested interventions is not exhaustive, nor has it been specifically tested as part of the research process. Clearly some are more politically challenging and resource



intensive, but some are relatively quick wins with little to lose. As this study has shown fundamental support for Kahn's (1990) constructs, it would also be useful for organisations to set up their long term engagement monitoring practices on the basis of Kahn's (1990) work. Instruments such as those developed by May et al. (2004, p. 36) which do this should be preferred for long term monitoring over those more usually used such as the UWES (Schaufeli and Bakker, 2003) or the Q12 (Harter et al., 2009). Ultimately if the police is to properly engage its staff within a period of austerity and increasing politicisation a more considered view of engagement is required for which this study provides a useful blueprint both in both theory and practice.

## **7.0 – Conclusions, limitations and further research**

The major theoretical contribution of this research is the development of a moderated model of Kahn's (1990) theory of engagement which integrates the construct of material preconditions as necessary antecedent conditions for the fulfilment of safety and availability which alongside meaningfulness comprise the psychological preconditions for physical, cognitive and emotional engagement in role. This contribution has been enabled, through the literature review, the illumination of Kahn's (1990) unmoderated model as fundamentally superior to other constructs and a focus upon Kahn's (1990) qualitative methodology. It has been argued that this methodology delivered knowledge of a greater depth and greater causal value than other quantitative/positivist focused researchers.

Kahn's (1990) unmoderated model of engagement was not, however, capable of fully accounting for the data gleaned in the research setting of Eastshire and Westshire constabularies. Both the police culture literature and the research data clearly demonstrate that some elements of classical police culture endure. Fundamentally, however, the research has shown a hugely changed and still changing UK policing landscape that exhibits major fiscal contraction, significant structural and governance alteration, all against the backdrop of the increased politicisation of crime and policing agendas. It is argued that this change centric environment challenges some areas of classic police culture literature. Through the use of a diverse case model, in which one of the cases exhibits organisational stress in austerity, the environment also provides a context in which material factors are of prime importance to officers going about their duties. Issues of lacking officer numbers and lacking equipment are job resource material preconditions for which Kahn's (1990) unmoderated model of engagement cannot properly account.

Of course the issue of context is the space in which this research's critical realist methodology provides added value. Through the avoidance of the dogmatic positions of strict positivism or interpretivism, the research seeks knowledge of the interplay which exists in the intermediate level between police officers, police culture and organisation in search of the social reality related to engagement in this context. Because of critical realism's belief in the fallible nature of knowledge and the importance of time and place, the issue of context becomes crucial to an interpretation of what is really going on. It is argued that retroduction aligned to broad principles of the conduct of critical realist case study research, alongside a belief in triangulation as a manifestation of retroduction are the tools by which critical realist knowledge can be demonstrated as having emerged. In turning to the original research objectives it is this critical realist application of the context of radical change and politicisation in the police service which prompts a retroductive revision of Kahn's (1990) model of

engagement, arguing that without the addition of a construct of material preconditions, the theory is insufficient to account for the context of this research setting. Research objective one asked how revisions of Kahn's (1990) theories of psychological preconditions of engagement, can improve our understanding of employee engagement in UK policing. It is this addition of a construct of material preconditions as precursors to the psychological preconditions of safety and availability which are the necessary revisions to improve the applicability of Kahn's (1990) model. This revision is the theoretical key which unlocks our understanding of employee engagement in UK policing.

Research objective two asked how the application of theoretical models of employee engagement can assist in the optimisation of a climate of engagement in a rapidly changing organisational and political policing context. In meeting this objective a number of organisational interventions have been positioned as aligned to factors of safety, availability, meaningfulness and material preconditions. It is argued that by identifying an organisation's level of burnout, a particular recipe of interventions either more aligned to the psychological or material preconditions can be calculated. In so doing it is suggested that some previously outmoded theories of engagement burnout may have relevance, not as a measure of engagement but as a sole measure of burnout. In focusing on longer term engagement strategies and concluding the HRM issues raised in the introduction HR managers in higher risk organisations, such as policing, would do well to look at the work of May et al. (2004, p. 36). They have developed a survey instrument based on Kahn's (1990) work as to opposed continual reliance on survey instruments such as the UWES and Q12, which have been widely criticised. In essence, it is suggested that the moderated model of Kahn's (1990) engagement with the inclusion of the construct of material preconditions provides a particularly suitable model of engagement to assist organisational optimisation of a climate of engagement in the currently changing organisational and political context of policing in the UK.

This study has limitations. Critical realism does not ascribe to a polarised view of ontology and epistemology, however, theorists who do hold such views would do well to further test May et al's (2004) research instrument in a larger population. It is apparent that the preference for work engagement above Kahn's (1990) personal engagement could well stem from an over reliance on the UWES. Hence the development of a research instrument which provides knowledge more attuned to positivist theorists may serve to highlight the strengths of Kahn's (1990) work and redress this imbalance. Having only focused on two police forces it would also be useful to widen the study to other police services both in the UK and internationally. Indeed it would be useful to test the theory in other similar occupational environments which exhibit a similar risk level to employees. The benefit of widening the

number of cases would need to be measured against the value ascribed to in depth contextual research, clearly there is trade-off between the two. It would be useful to revisit the same case setting over a longitudinal period, taking into account different governmental initiatives and different fiscal environments to establish the boundaries of context and theory. Finally in respect of police culture there was an absence of both gender and diversity related material and both areas would value from further research.

In conclusion police leaders would do well to focus on the research findings of this study. With reducing budgets and continued public expectation the ability to deliver a climate in which police officers can give of their best will continue to be crucial to delivering a public service. Developing interventions to focus either on a balance of material and psychological preconditions provides a strong likelihood of organisational enhancement and ultimately employee engagement within a change-centric environment of UK policing.

## 8.0 - Author's professional development

I commenced doctoral study with the University of Portsmouth Business School in the autumn of 2010. At that time I was a Temporary Chief Inspector, seconded from Eastshire Constabulary to Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary. Prior to the DBA, I achieved an undergraduate degree in Philosophy and Masters degree in Police Leadership and Management. The DBA was a natural choice of advanced study combining some of the organisational and practical focus of the Masters with the theoretic focus of the Bachelor. The structured taught first year also provided the opportunity to refresh and develop research skills and build a learning set with other candidates. The motivation to achieve a doctoral degree combines a personal desire to reach academic attainment at an advanced level and also support further career progression. In increasingly competitive working environments being able to distinguish oneself from the competition is increasingly important. In 2011 as part of the first year taught element of the DBA I completed a portfolio of professional development & learning in which I identified three facets of necessary/desired development, namely personal, professional and academic. The below table demonstrates six learning development needs which I identified in 2011, and reflection upon them some 4 years on.

No.	Identified learning objective 2011	Reflections 4 years on...
1	Development of knowledge base in subject of employee engagement	At the beginning of the doctoral journey, whilst I was broadly acquainted with the professional/consultancy subject material most of the academic work was new to me. The support of my supervisors has been crucial in directing me towards relevant literature on occasions when areas of my work have been deficient. My litmus test of success is that when reading an article I am now generally familiar with many of the cited works and have a deep knowledge of my subject area. Reading is, however, an ongoing task with the subject canon growing on a monthly basis.
2	Research methods & methodology	Upon starting the doctorate I was immediately faced with a methodological choice regards the direction of my research. Fortunately the literature in my subject area helped me define both my epistemological/ontological position and the applicable research methods for my research aims. The literature helped identify a predominantly quantitative focus in employee engagement which was failing to provide a deeper contextualised understanding of engagement in an operationalised environment. This gap focused my mind towards qualitative methods and towards an

		<p>ontological/epistemological position which prioritised the concept of knowledge in context. This led towards my critical realist case study approach which has been crucial in developing the high quality data presented in the thesis. Whilst my chosen methods have been largely qualitative I have also invested time in ensuring an appropriate understanding of quantitative techniques, including recent attendance upon a police sponsored statistical analysis workshop at Durham University. I now feel able to appropriately defend both my methodological position and my choice of methods within that paradigm. Somewhat ironically and with awareness of an organisational agenda some of suggestions for further research in the area are to develop further a quantitative research instrument based on the work of Kahn (1990), hence if I follow my own suggestions, a future turn towards quantitative methods may be appropriate to help expand the HRM application of my work.</p>
3	Negotiating & Influencing	<p>This development need was identified as having a dual academic and professional impact. Undoubtedly I have been able to influence the organisations which I have been researching in their pursuit of employee engagement in the HRM environment. In Eastshire this included the adoption of the UWES research instrument as part of the annual engagement survey and across collaborated services the adoption of a Durham University based product including the UWES. However employee engagement remains a subject which does not attract the attention it deserves within policing because police leaders struggle to link it directly with positive hard outcomes. Working in a quantitative manner in order to provide data in a format which will appeal to the predominant preferences of police leaders may be a future means by which greater influence is garnered here. My research is, however, finding an appropriate audience, with presentations being delivered to both College of Policing and Metropolitan Police audiences.</p>
4	Networking in both academic & professional spheres	<p>Learning style analysis completed during the DBA taught element identifies me with strong preferences towards theorist and pragmatist styles, networking being a behaviour most suited to activists. This has undoubtedly been a stretch area for me, however, online systems (Linkedin) and a specific emphasis on it have helped. I am building a strong network of academic contacts and was recently invited by Professor Katie Truss (cited in the research a number of times) to attend an engagement professional's event at Oxford University. I also intend translating the DBA qualification into</p>

		CIPD membership to further enhance the professional opportunities, further develop networks and identify occupational opportunities to disseminate my learning.
5	Develop academic & professional presentation skills	The taught elements of the DBA were instrumental in honing presentation skills for an academic audience. The sequence of assessed and peer reviewed presentations during this phase was crucial in this respect. Prior to examination I shall also attend mock presentation and viva voce with my supervisors, hence anticipate being in a strong position prior to examination. I have yet to attend conferences to more widely disseminate my learning and this is an objective moving forward. The CIPD hold regular engagement events which provide opportunities for me to present my findings, alongside opportunities within Portsmouth Business School and other academic conferences. Post examination I also intend breaking my thesis into a number of article size essays, covering a range of topics including a review of the engagement literature, a review of the police culture literature in context to a landscape of radical change, and a developed model of engagement. I will seek support from my current supervisors to pursue joint publishing opportunities in these areas. Professionally I have found the need to contextualise some of my academic ideas in a way which makes them more accessible to a non-academic audience. This has at times been a struggle when I have perceived a concept as straight forward and self-explanatory whilst others have found it to be challenging and outside of their zone of reference. Knowing your audience is a key skill and one which I will have to continue to develop my awareness such that I ‘pitch’ ideas at an appropriate level. I am actively seeking coaching support to assist me in getting this balance right.
6	Acquire practical study resources	In 2011, my physical environment was not conducive to the task in hand, with simple issues of space and noise. Fortunately I was able to resolve these issues, creating a dedicated area for study in which books/papers could remain in situ. The issue of work environment has therefore been demonstrated to me as a crucial issue in future projects. Indeed I identified the issue in passing during the research as a potentially inhibiting factor to creativity within the policing environment. Moving forward as a manager of some 200 people, the issues I have encountered cause me to focus strongly on providing high quality work environments for people for whom I am responsible.

Reflecting on the DBA journey, despite the magnitude of the challenge being highlighted by tutors and course leaders in 2010-2011, the overall commitment required has been vast and was underestimated. It is apparent that there is a gulf between Masters and Doctoral level study and the sheer time commitment has implications in all other aspects of life. Whilst I am hopeful that successful completion will lead to future vocational success, there are also other considerations. Doctoral study leads you towards a different way of thinking, which is both naturally critical of what is presented prima-facie and also seeks to reconcile a given phenomenon with existing theoretical constructs. Such an approach is not taken by all, indeed not welcomed by all and it is important to recognise the organisational culture in which you operate when seeking such development. The match between an organisational culture which is acutely pragmatic and an individual who seeks theoretical justification/location for what is presented can be a juxtaposition. The point being made is the simple awareness that the doctoral journey changes the individual and what may have been a comfortable organisational-person match at the beginning of the journey may be altered by the end. The doctorate does, however, provide a sound platform to investigate alternate enhanced career opportunities that did not exist before hand. Certainly in an increasingly competitive job market, means by which one can differentiate oneself are prized, and successful completion should open a range of opportunities that did not previously exist.



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**10 – Appendices**

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**Appendix A – Tabulated taxonomy of engagement theorists**

<b>Author &amp; date</b>	<b>Method</b>	<b>Antecedent states</b>	<b>Central Tenet of work</b>	<b>Outcomes</b>	<b>Research instrument</b>	<b>Category</b>
Kahn (1990)	Grounded theory observation and interviews in summer camp and architect firm setting	Psychological preconditions of: safety, availability & meaningfulness	Full personal engagement in role behaviour dependent on engaging physical, cognitive and emotional self, disengagement sitting at the opposing end of a continuum.	None identified.	Qualitative grounded theory ethnography	Personal Engagement.
Kahn (1992)	Further development of theory from 1990 study	Psychological preconditions of: safety, availability & meaningfulness leading to experiential state of psychological presence which mediates personal engagement level.	Development of experiential state of psychological presence, effectively the experiential state of being personally engaged.	None identified.	No instrument	Personal Engagement.
Rothbard (2001)	Survey of 790 employees of a US University and structural equation modelling	Examines antecedent and consequential effects of the roles of both work and family, examine whether such roles have enriching or depleting effects	Gender differences between enrichment and depletion from work to family and vice versa. Develops Kahn's (1990) model, focusing on extrapolations of his factors, attention and absorption.	Review of perceived work-family relationships and perceived depletion/enrichment effects.	Questionnaire on wider issues	Draws from personal engagement.
May, Gilson & Harter (2004)	Questionnaire & path analysis of 213 employees of insurance firm	Psychological preconditions of: safety, availability & meaningfulness	Tested determinant and mediating effect of psychological conditions of meaningfulness, safety and availability on personal engagement. Results show all three conditions have positive relation with engagement, meaningfulness being the strongest.	None identified.	Likert scale questionnaire	Personal Engagement.
Rich, Lepine & Crawford (2010)	Survey of 245 firefighters and structural equation modelling	Value congruence (meaningfulness), perceived organisational support (safety), core self evaluations (availability)	Personal engagement effectively mediates the relationship between preconditions of value congruence, perceived organisational support, core self evaluations and performance	Task performance and organisational citizenship behaviour.	Likert scale questionnaire	Personal Engagement.

			outcomes of task performance and organisational citizenship behaviour.			
Shuck, Rocco, Alborno (2011)	Case study in a US based multinational service company, involving observations, data analysis, and semi structured interviews.	Internal and external personal characteristics and tangible and intangible environmental elements.	Grounded in the theoretical work of Kahn, developed an emergent model based on personal characteristics and environmental elements.	Various linking theory to practice.	Qualitative case study research.	Personal Engagement.
Maslach, Schaufeli & Leiter (2001)	Maslach Burnout Inventory and literature study of previous work.	Six areas connected to the three core dimensions of burnout; workload, control, reward, community, fairness, values.	Identified engagement and burnout as the opposite ends of a continuum, the three factors being Energy-Exhaustion, Involvement-Cynicism, Efficacy-Reduced efficacy.	Withdrawal from the work place.	Maslach Burnout Inventory	Burnout-antithesis
Schaufeli & Bakker (2003)	Compilation of various statistical tests showing validity of UWES (Utrecht Work Engagement Scale)	Specific research identifying validity of UWES not antecedent or consequential states	Development of theory of work engagement as a positive fulfilling work related state of mind characterised by vigour, dedication and absorption and its measurement through UWES.	Specific research identifying validity of UWES not antecedent or consequential states	UWES in original 17 item version.	Work Engagement
Schaufeli & Bakker (2004)	Surveys using the MBI and UWES within 4 separate organisations with sample sizes ranging from 202 to 608. Structural equation modelling.	Decreasing job demands demonstrated to be a preferable means of increasing engagement as opposed increasing job resources.	By using structural equation modelling, the demonstration that burnout and engagement are independent states not opposites of the same continuum and that engagement is a positive fulfilling, work related state of mind characterised by vigour dedication and absorption.	Examines effects of engagement on turnover intention and burnout on health problems.	Maslach Burnout Inventory & UWES	Work Engagement
Schaufeli, Bakker & Salanova (2006)	Analysis of data from pre-collected high volume samples from 10 countries using the UWES and MBI. Structural equation modelling.	Research aimed at reducing the items of the UWES, not investigation of antecedent or consequential states.	Reduction of the number of items of the UWES from 17 to 9 successful providing good fit with the factors of vigour dedication and absorption to provide a single composite engagement profile.	Research aimed at reducing the items of the UWES, not investigation of antecedent or consequential states.	UWES in shortened 9 item version.	Work Engagement

Salanova, Agut & Peiro (2005)	Survey using the UWES within restaurants and hotels. Structural equation modelling.	Organisational resources; training, autonomy, technology.	Service climate mediates the relationship between organisational resources and work engagement and outcomes of employee performance and customer loyalty.	Employee performance and customer loyalty.	Spanish version of the UWES for the work engagement element of study.	Work Engagement
Sonnentag, Mojza, Binnewies & Scholl (2008)	Surveys with employees of five German organisations. Hierarchical linear modelling.	Psychological detachment during non working time.	Work engagement at work and detachment whilst not at work created the optimum employee affective states.	Employee well being and the conceptual integrity of work engagement over workaholism.	9 point version of the UWES used for work engagement element.	Work Engagement
Bakker, Schaufeli, Leiter & Taris (2008)	Position paper and literature review of previous studies	Job demands, job resources and personal resources as facilitators and drains on engagement levels.	Conclude that energy and involvement are dimensions around which there is broad consensus whereas there is less agreement concerning dimensions of absorption and efficacy.	Extra-role and in role performance. Service climate, employee performance and customer loyalty.	No instrument	Work Engagement
Xanthopoulou, Bakker, Demerouti & Schaufeli (2009)	Multi level analysis of surveys conducted with three branches of a Greek fast food company.	Job resources: autonomy, coaching, team climate. Personal resources: self efficacy, optimism and organisational based self esteem.	Personal and job resources predicted levels of work engagement which in turn predicted level of financial return.	Financial return.	9 point version of the UWES used for work engagement element.	Work Engagement
Schaufeli & Bakker (2010)	Literature review and postulation of research issues.	Resourceful and challenging work, positive affectivity.	Describes work engagement as a conceptually coherent construct comprising of vigour, dedication and absorption within an integrative model with work engagement, job involvement and job satisfaction mediating the relationship between antecedent states and outcomes.	organisational commitment, personal initiative and extra role behaviour and performance.	No instrument	Work Engagement
Bakker, Albrecht & Leiter (2011a)	Literature review and postulation of research issues.	Various: climate, leader behaviour.	A position paper which reviews current thinking but crucially proposes a refinement of the 3 dimension construct of work engagement to a 2 dimension model based energy and identification.	Dark side of engagement, health effect	No instrument	Work Engagement

Bakker, Albrecht & Leiter (2011b)	Literature review and discussion of position papers in response to their own questions.	Various: climate, leader behaviour.	Maintains earlier (2011a) suggestion of 2 not 3 core dimensions but positions work engagement within a circumplex model based on 2 neurophysiological systems of pleasure and activation.	Dark side of engagement and performance	No instrument	Work Engagement
Harter, Schmidt, Kilham & Agrawal (2009)	Meta-analysis of 199 research studies including nearly a million employees.	Employee satisfaction	Employee engagement is substantially related to the 9 identified outcomes, is generalisable and that the Q12 can be used confidently to capture performance related information and engagement conditions.	Customer loyalty, profitability, productivity, turnover, safety incidents, shrinkage, absenteeism, patient safety incidents and quality.	Meta-Analysis	Employee Engagement
Macey & Schneider (2008)	Literature review	Job attributes and leadership	Employee engagement comprises in psychological, behavioural and trait elements.	Extra-role behaviour	No instrument	Employee Engagement
Macey, Schneider, Barbera & Young (2009)	Literature review	Trust, leadership, fairness, work role, incentives, organisational culture.	Defines EE as an individual's sense of purpose and focused energy evident to others in the display of personal initiative, adaptability effort and persistence directed towards organisational goals.	Return on assets, shareholder value, profitability	No instrument	Employee Engagement
Alfes, Truss, Soane, Rees, & Gatenby (2010)	8 case studies and analysis of data set from 5291 questionnaires, interviews and focus groups.	Meaningfulness, leadership, person-job fit.	Defines EE as having three core facets: intellectual engagement, affective engagement and social engagement.	Performance, innovation, staff turnover, personal well-being, burnout	Survey instrument.	Employee Engagement
Viljevac, Cooper-Thomas & Saks (2012)	139 survey respondents from an Auckland based call centre, followed by structural equation modelling.	Not designed to test antecedent states	Calls into question the validity of both May et al (2004) scale based on Kahn's (1990) work and also the UWES.	None identified.	May et al. (2004) instrument & the UWES	Personal Engagement & Work engagement.

## **Appendix B – Portsmouth University Business School Ethics Application & approval emails**

### **Ethical Review Checklist – Staff and Doctoral Students**

This checklist should be completed by the researcher (PhD students to have DoS check) and sent to Sharman Rogers who will coordinate Ethics Committee scrutiny.

**No primary data collection can be undertaken before the supervisor and/or Ethics Committee has given approval.**

If, following review of this checklist, amendments to the proposals are agreed to be necessary, the researcher must provide Sharman with an amended version for scrutiny.

What are the objectives of the research project?

1 - The first and research aim is to provide a clear and coherent conceptualisation of engagement within a police environment. Inherent to this research aim are a number of questions.

1.1 – What is the understanding of engagement for different groups within the police service? The modern police service is made up of different groups of people, including police officers, police staff and community support officers. Each have different roles and responsibilities and it is important to understand how each conceptualise engagement and to highlight differences and similarities.

1.2 – What is the organisational understanding of engagement? Eastshire, Westshire and Northshire<sup>1</sup> are three distinct organisations, each with its own leadership and human resources practices. Each organisation will be in a different position in terms of the integration of engagement into working practices, and each will employ different tools and methods in building engagement.

1.3 – How do current engagement interventions within each organisation influence the conceptualisation of engagement? This is a question linked but distinct from question two. Organisations will have different perceptions of engagement, some may be explicitly stated, some will be inherent within leadership charters and other organisational material. Those which have developed engagement programmes necessarily influence their own understanding of engagement. It is important to understand the interaction between intervention and understanding and to differentiate views which have become operationalized by the metrics and instruments currently in use.

The results from the above questions will enable the researcher to provide a conceptualisation of engagement which is directly applicable to Eastshire, Westshire and Northshire police services, but will have wider theoretical value. The proposed methodology will be case study research, thus as Yin (2014, p. 21) describes the purpose is to provide analytic generalisation, not statistical generalisation. Thus the purpose of the research is to provide a generalisable theory which is applicable to police services in general, and indeed perhaps other similarly occupational work environments.

2 - The second research aim is to take that generalisable conceptualisation and based on it provide suggestions for areas in which successful interventions may be particularly suited to the police environment. There is no aim to specifically research those interventions, nor

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<sup>1</sup> Northshire was not ultimately included in the study due to practical time constraints

empirically study which are most effective, yet in developing the conceptual understanding a number of further questions will naturally be encountered: :

2.1 – Which of the observed engagement instruments and practices within Eastshire, Westshire and Northshire most closely align with the derived conceptualisation of police engagement? In coming to an understanding of police engagement the research will actively look at current engagement strategies in the three services. Once a firm conceptualisation of police engagement is reached, it will be possible to reflect on how closely actual strategy matches the conceptual definition.

2.5 – In light of the conceptual definition of police engagement, what methods of intervention are most worthy of further investigation and what methods are least worthy? Whilst the research will not aim to actually study the interventions directly, the nature of the conceptualisation will automatically suggest areas of relative value at which interventions could be aimed. It is in answer to this question that the most organisational value will be provided.

Does the research involve *NHS patients, resources or staff*? **NO** (please circle).

If YES, it is likely that full ethical review must be obtained from the NHS process before the research can start.

Do you intend to collect *primary data* from human subjects or data that are identifiable with individuals? (This includes, for example, questionnaires and interviews.) **YES** (please circle)

If you do not intend to collect such primary data then please go to question 14.

If you do intend to collect such primary data then please respond to **ALL** the questions 4 through 13. If you feel a question does not apply then please respond with n/a (for not applicable).

What is the *purpose* of the primary data in the dissertation / research project?

It is proposed that participant observation is conducted as an initial step designed to refine an interview template. Non probability sample groups will be selected from Eastshire, Westshire and Northshire police forces on the basis of a blend of police officers, staff and community support officers. It may be necessary to include more than one sample group in each organisation to ensure an appropriate blend of those three categories of people are included. It is proposed that one week of observation is conducted in each of the three organisations with field notes taken within a field diary. Participant observation will not only allow the refinement of an interview template but also provide direct evidence towards research aim one and research questions one and three.

In depth interviews will form the last stage of data collection and will encompass twelve in depth semi structured qualitative interviews in each organisation with a blend of police officers, staff and community support officers making up the twelve from each organisation.

What is/are the *survey population(s)*?

The population for the research is all police officers, staff, and community support officers within Eastshire, Westshire and Northshire police services. The entire population will not be studied directly. In respect of participant observation, non probability sample groups will be selected from Eastshire, Westshire and Northshire police forces on the basis of a blend of police officers, staff and community support officers. It may be necessary to include more than one sample group in each organisation to ensure an appropriate blend of those three categories of people are included. It is anticipated that no more than three separate groups of people will be observed in each of the three organisations, however, this will be kept to a minimum for practical reasons. Team sizes within the police service vary greatly, however, a typical police response team will have between 10 and 20 people within it. Therefore, based on 20 people in three teams in three organisations, something in the region of 180 people may be directly observed.

In depth semi structured interviews will be conducted with a smaller range of police officers, staff and community support officers from each of the three organisations. There will be twelve interviews in each organisation.

How big is the *sample* for each of the survey populations and how was this sample arrived at?

It may be necessary to include more than one sample group in each organisation to ensure an appropriate blend of those three categories of people are included. It is anticipated that no more than three separate groups of people will be observed in each of the three organisations, however, this will be kept to a minimum for practical reasons. Team sizes within the police service vary greatly, however, a typical police response team will have between 10 and 20 people within it. Therefore, based on 20 people in three teams in three organisations, something in the region of 180 people may be directly observed, although this may slightly increase or decrease based dependent on actual team size. The sample sizes are purposive non probability samples designed to study the three different role types within the police service (police officer, staff, community support officer). Statistical generalisability is not sought, therefore statistical probability sampling techniques are not required.

In depth semi structured interviews will be conducted with a smaller range of police officers staff and community support officers from each of the three organisations. There will be twelve interviews in each organisation. The selection of twelve interviews per organisation has been calculated based on research suggesting data saturation occurs after analysis of twelve interviews in a given area. There are three organisations, thus to ensure organisational differences are captured, twelve interviews in each organisation are required.

How will respondents be *selected and recruited*?

Once access has been granted to the respective organisation (researcher is a Eastshire police officer and access has been granted, but will need formal senior access agreement in Westshire and Northshire) sample groups will be selected based on their makeup, ideally seeking teams with two or more of the role categories (police officer, staff, community support officer). It is anticipated that in many cases, only two roles will be present within a given team. This will prompt selection of a second or third sample group in each organisation.

Interview respondents will again be recruited on the basis of ensuring a blend of police officer, staff and community support officer roles from within each of the three organisations.

What steps are proposed to ensure that the requirements of *informed consent* will be met for those taking part in the research? If an Information Sheet for participants is to be used,



please attach it to this form. If not, please explain how you will be able to demonstrate that informed consent has been gained from participants.

Once suitable sample groups for the observation phase have been identified, it is proposed that the researcher makes contact with the team supervisor to discuss the proposal and gauge initial reaction. If initial reactions are negative a different group will be sought. Once initial consent has been received from the team supervisor, the researcher will send an information sheet to them and arrange to attend the team workplace to provide an information briefing with the team in question. Each team member will be asked to provide their direct written consent as part of the information sheet.

Interview participants will be contacted in a similar manner, provided an information sheet and their informed written consent acquired prior to the commencement of interviews.

The information sheet has not yet been produced.

How will *data* be *collected* from each of the sample groups?

Two primary data collection methods will be used. Participant observation will be conducted with up to three groups in each of the three organisations.

In depth semi structured interviews will be conducted with twelve respondents in each of the three organisations.

How will *data* be *stored* and what will happen to the data at the end of the research?

The police service is adept at the storage of sensitive documentation and existing practices exist under the Government protected Marking Scheme (GPMS) and Data Protection Act for the storage and retention of data. Whilst not falling under the GPMS category data will be held in accordance with GPMS principles in locked cabinets in secure areas. Data will be retained to enable examiners or other interested parties access if required, but will be retained in a secure manner.

How will *confidentiality* be assured for respondents?

Organisationally confidentiality will not be sought and part of the organisational access agreement sought from each organisation will reflect the researchers need to highlight findings from each organisation. Informed consent will be sought from the senior officers within each force able to grant access. If this consent is refused, the reference to the names of the individual forces will be need to be removed.

Individual confidentiality will be communicated through the informed consent process and information sheet. The research is interested in the roles of police officer, staff and community support officer, therefore the actual teams or units will not need to be identified, although the team or unit categories may be identified. Due to the replication of the same team structures at multiple locations across the organisation this is not anticipated to threaten confidentiality.

What steps are proposed to safeguard the *anonymity* of the respondents?

Anonymity will be explained to the participant groups and their names and team locations will not be identified in the research. Due to the replication of the same team structures across the organisation anonymity will be secured.

Are there any *risks* (physical or other, including reputational) *to respondents* that may result from taking part in this research? **YES** (please circle).

If YES, please specify and state what measures are proposed to deal with these risks.

Organisations taking part may feel threatened that a thesis could highlight bad human resources or other working practices. Organisations will be assured that thematic recommendations are anonymous, thus guarding against this point. The organisational benefit is the provision of recommendations to allow increased engagement, therefore, any reputational risks are offset.

Police officers, staff and community support officers could be called at a seconds notice to respond to a life endangering situation. They are of course fully trained to do this (as is the researcher), however, particularly during the interview phase it will be essential to negotiate their formal release from these obligations to ensure that no other team members are dependent on them for immediate support whilst they are involved in the interview process.

Are there any *risks* (physical or other, including reputational) *to the researcher or to the University* that may result from conducting this research? **YES** (please circle).

If YES, please specify and state what measures are proposed to manage these risks.<sup>2</sup>

It is proposed that during the participant observation stage the researcher accompany police officers, staff and community support officers going about their daily business in all situations. There is inherent risk and danger in this approach, as officers, staff and community support officers are exposed to extreme risk on a daily basis. Fortunately the researcher is a fully trained and experienced police officer and is fully capable of ensuring his own personal safety and ensuring that no burden is placed on others whom he may be observing. There are no perceived risks for the University.

Will any *data* be *obtained from a company or other organisation*. **YES** (please circle) For example, information provided by an employer or its employees.

If NO, then please go to question 18.

Both archival and documentary information will be sought from Eastshire, Westshire and Northshire police services. Much of this will be material which is publicly available (leadership charters, policing plans, etc) however some will be internal information including internal intranet pages, policies and performance data.

What steps are proposed to ensure that the requirements of *informed consent* will be met for that organisation? How will *confidentiality* be assured for the organisation?

A senior representative from each of the three forces will be approached by the researcher and informed consent sought. Confidentiality is not sought, however, if this issue becomes problematic then individual service names will be made anonymous. Informal discussions prior to formal 'sign off' will guide the need to alter this approach.

Does the organisation have its own ethics procedure relating to the research you intend to carry out? **NO** (please circle).

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<sup>2</sup> Risk evaluation should take account of the broad liberty of expression provided by the principle of academic freedom. The university's conduct with respect to academic freedom is set out in section 9.2 of the Articles of Government and its commitment to academic freedom is in section 1.2 of the Strategic Plan 2004-2008.

If YES, the University will require written evidence from the organisation that they have approved the research.

The researcher is not aware of specific research ethics procedures in each of the organisations, however, police forces are hierarchical bureaucracies and formal written consent will be sought at executive level within each of the forces.

Will the proposed research involve any of the following (please put a ✓ next to 'yes' or 'no'; consult your supervisor if you are unsure):

- |   |     |                                     |    |                                     |
|---|-----|-------------------------------------|----|-------------------------------------|
| • Vulnerable groups (e.g. children) ?       | YES | <input type="checkbox"/>            | NO | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| • Particularly sensitive topics ?           | YES | <input type="checkbox"/>            | NO | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| • Access to respondents via 'gatekeepers' ? | YES | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| • Use of deception ?                        | YES | <input type="checkbox"/>            | NO | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| • Access to confidential personal data ?    | YES | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | NO | <input type="checkbox"/>            |
| • Psychological stress, anxiety etc ?       | YES | <input type="checkbox"/>            | NO | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| • Intrusive interventions ?                 | YES | <input type="checkbox"/>            | NO | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |

Gatekeepers – As discussed previously, team supervisors will be approached prior to the researcher speaking with team members directly.

Confidential personal data – Some sensitive data such as performance records, sickness records may be used to triangulate results. This information will be made anonymous, and stored correctly and securely.

Are there any other ethical issues that may arise from the proposed research?

The research is concerned with people's motivation, their level of engagement and well being, however, it comes at a time of austerity and cuts within the police service. As part of the information and consent process it will be important to highlight the benefits of engagement to each individual rather than people feeling they have been exploited. The possible benefits of the research for each individual will need to be highlighted and explained.

**Organisational support was granted by Assistant Chief Constable XXX in Eastshire on 22<sup>nd</sup> April 2013 and on 26<sup>th</sup> October 2013 by Superintendent YYY & Senior HR Business Partner ZZZ in Westshire**

  
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**University of Portsmouth Ethics Committee approval was granted 21<sup>st</sup> May 2013**

  
Ethics Committee  
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## **Appendix C – research subject information sheet & formal consent**

### **Information sheet & informed consent form for subjects of research into Employee Engagement within Eastshire Constabulary**

**Nick Caveney – University of Portsmouth – 2013**

Dear Colleague

My name is Nick Caveney. I am a doctoral student within the Business School at the University of Portsmouth. I am interested in the subject of employee engagement within the police service and would like to study you and your team. I am particularly interested in the conditions which help create an organisational climate in which engagement can flourish and how police culture affects that climate. If you consent my research will involve the following:

- Me observing you & your team in the workplace and keeping notes
- Me looking at organisational documents such as leadership charters and any employee engagement scheme documentation
- Me conducting an interview of about an hour in work's time, asking about what I have observed of you and your team in the workplace and how it relates to engagement.

I will refer to the name of your police force in my research write-up, however, your team and your personal details will remain anonymous. I will use quotes and comments from the observations I make and also the interviews, however, these will all be anonymous. I will store all data in accordance with the Government Protected Marking Scheme (GPMS) and the Data Protection Act 1998. I will be studying police officers in Westshire and Eastshire. Anyone who takes part in the study, but later decides they do not wish to be involved is free to withdraw at any time, in which case no information gathered from them will be used. Data will not routinely be passed to any third parties and will be kept confidentially. Should data need to be passed, your prior consent will be requested.

I am a Chief Inspector in Eastshire, however, when I conduct observations and interviews I am doing so as a student from the University of Portsmouth and will be in plain clothes. My final research thesis will be made available to Eastshire & Westshire Constabulary and upon request from any research subjects.

Nick Caveney, University of Portsmouth – April 2013 - XXX

Nick.caveney@XXX, Nick.caveney@XXX

[My supervisor from the University of Portsmouth is:](#)

[Dr Peter Scott – University of Portsmouth - XXX](#)

peter.j.scott@XXX

**Informed consent form for subjects of research into Employee Engagement within  
Eastshire Constabulary**

**Name:**

**I voluntarily consent to taking part in research being conducted by Nick Caveney who has explained to me that:**

- **Nick will conduct observations of me and my team in the workplace**
- **Nick will look at organisational documents such as leadership charters and employee engagement material**
- **Nick will interview me for about an hour**
- **All data will be treated in accordance with GPMS & Data Protection**
- **Data will not be passed to third parties without my explicit consent**
- **I have the right to withdraw at any time by informing Nick**

**Signature:**

***This document was reproduced in Westshire and all signed consent forms are retained and available for inspection if required.***

## Appendix D – Framed analysis of observational research

### Framed Analysis of Observational Research in Eastshire & Westshire Constabulary

Observational technique has been a blend of participant and structured observation. That is to say that the observer in both environments (Eastshire & Westshire Police forces) was a member of those societies (a Police officer from Westshire, Northshire, Eastshire collaborated protective services command) and as such able to take part in the activities of the officers going about their duties. Also however a degree of structured observational approach was sought to guide the observational enquiry through the use of a framed set of behaviours and psychological traits. This frame was the result of previous literature research into the areas of Kahn's (1990) theory of personal engagement and also factors of UK police culture and organisation. This frame was used throughout the observational period to explore thematic areas with officers during the period of observations and also to help categorise reflection on what had been observed. The observational frame:

Kahn psychological preconditions	UK Policing cultural and organisational considerations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Physical energy (availability)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Job demands (Shifts, bureaucracy, unpredictability) depletion of energy due to workload</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Emotional energy (availability)</li> <li>Insecurity (availability)</li> <li>Management style &amp; process (safety)</li> <li>Organisational norms (safety)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Winsor (2011) &amp; Hutton (2011) &amp; threat to contract</li> <li>Machismo &amp; sexism</li> <li>Racial prejudice</li> <li>Workforce modernisation</li> <li>Financial challenge</li> <li>Collaboration &amp; structural change</li> <li>Political &amp; moral conservatism</li> <li>Anti-theoretical pragmatism</li> <li>Blame focused management style</li> <li>Distrust of charismatic leadership</li> <li>Accountability under Police &amp; Crime Commissioners</li> <li>Resistance to management change initiatives (discretion)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Outside lives (availability)</li> <li>Interpersonal relationships (safety)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Isolation &amp; solidarity</li> <li>Suspicion</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Group &amp; intergroup dynamics (safety)</li> <li>Role characteristics (meaningfulness)</li> <li>Work interactions (meaningfulness)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dislike for minority groups (machismo, racism, sexism)</li> <li>Workforce modernisation</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Task characteristics</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Mission-action</li> </ul>

(meaningfulness)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Discretion</li></ul>
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The process of data analysis ran alongside the data observation process and as new observations were made these were both consciously and unconsciously categorised through the process of writing field notes. Essentially the observer is central to the decision of which data are/are not recorded and how that data are expressed.

This paper is designed as a raw analysis of themes emerging from the data, both relative to the research frame and anything additional. As observed above for each of Kahn's (1990) psychological preconditions, there is an approximate linkage with aspects of literary observed police cultural and organisational factors elements. The relevant cultural and organisational factors are categorised under each of the following psychological preconditions in line with the research frame.

## **Appendix E – Interview Schedule**

### **Engagement in the Police Service**

#### **Interview Template - V3.0 – Revision following second pilot – Live version**

Following the observation phase, the next stage of the current research project is to interview those members of the team I have observed, modelling to a large extent the process pursued by Kahn (1990). The observations in three different police station settings (Eastshire town & Eastshire town in Eastshire and Westshire town in Westshire) were conducted with the use of a research frame which welded the dual elements of Kahn's (1990) preconditions with the current themes identified in police cultural literature. This frame is a natural starting point for the development of an interview schedule.

#### **Constraints & practical considerations**

The interviews will be conducted during works time with each of the interviewees, and a number of less busy times have been identified with team leaders. There will be approximately 15-18 interviews in Eastshire (split across 2 stations) and 10-12 in Westshire. Each interviewee will be abstracted for a period of time from each working day. Because all of the interviewees will still be working during those periods the actual time available to fully abstract them will be limited to 30-45 minutes per interviewee. For this reason the interview schedule design is particularly important in getting the most pertinent data. Cultural literature suggests that police officers tend to hold a degree of anti-theoretical pragmatism, which focuses interview design. Particularly this cultural trait suggests that more direct questions are more likely to elicit a response than very open conceptual questions. Many police HR practices (Performance Development Review/Promotion-Job applications) are based on a behavioural framework, asking individuals to recount a time when they have displayed a specific behaviour. Couching the interview schedule in terms that officers understand will be important in getting the most from a limited period of time and as such a schedule which emulates the style of a behavioural framework is important.

#### **Observations as a guide to the interview process**

Observations were conducted on 12 different (July 2013 to January 2014) dates for periods of between 4 and 9 hours, amounting to a total of around 76 hours of observation recorded contemporaneously within a field diary. Using Kahn's (1990) set of three psychological preconditions (safety, availability, meaningfulness) as a frame for the observations has led to a relatively rich picture of observed behaviours under those categories. That data of observed behaviours provides a useful set of prompts for the interview process and allows a degree of validation and movement between research methods (interview & observation) in triangulating results.

#### **What type of interview & how many questions?**

In pursuit of Kahn's (1990) research model alongside a desire to understand qualitative questions of how and why observed phenomena has occurred, and in depth semi-structured interview schedule is preferred because it is anticipated as able to deliver the detail and level of knowledge. The role of the interviewer and the research setting are philosophical central to the research project and whilst a case study design strives to provide validity and



reliability the phenomenological element of this research methodology cannot be overlooked prompting the reader to accept the admission of knowledge under a different philosophical paradigm.

In a practical sense there is only a limited period of time and whilst in a world devoid of practical considerations a full exploration of all of Kahn's (1990) eleven sub categories of psychological preconditions would be beneficial, the limits of interview length dictate that this level of detail is unachievable. As such the design aims to use Kahn's (1990) major theoretical frame (safety, availability & meaningfulness) as the main guide to the semi-structured interview, using the psychological sub themes, the police cultural themes and the observed behaviours as live prompts to the interviewee speaking. Using questions akin to police HR practice ("describe a time when you have displayed behaviour X") will also likely settle the interviewees into a familiar setting. A two stage pilot process has also been used to refine the questions to ensure they are being understood by the interviewees in the way intended.

### **Design Version 3.0**

#### Interview environment & pre-amble

Interviews will take place in private rooms within police stations. Interviewees will be offered tea/coffee, their involvement will be arranged with their supervisors and they will be asked to turn off radios & phones. For practical purposes this may be the only time they get to have a break during the day, hence if they wish to speak whilst eating a meal/snack this will also be encouraged. The interviewees will mostly have spent time with the interviewer on a one to one basis during the observational phase hence there should already be a degree of rapport. There are a number of officers, however, who have only been observed in group environments and may need some additional information and description of the research project. All who will be taking part have already provided informed written consent to take part. All will be asked afresh whether they are still happy to take part and they will be reminded about the anonymity and data protection obligations of the researcher. A relaxed and private environment will be sought. Audio data will be recorded electronically and the researcher will be dressed in casual clothing.

1 - Warm up Intro question – How did you find having me as a researcher with you in the car/in your team?

*This is anticipated to provide a little information about my acceptance within the team but more as an icebreaker question. It prompts the issue of the interviewee's state of relaxation/acceptance of me and perhaps in dealing with the issue up front settles the room. It also signposts any latent tension regards my position as a Chief Inspector and therefore any bias the results might exhibit.*

2 – Think about a time when you came to work feeling particularly full of energy and enthusiastic about your day. What factors influenced how you were feeling during that time?

2A – Now, think of a time when you have felt the reverse of that, feeling particularly tired and not really wanting to get involved. What influenced how you were feeling during that time?

Possible prompts: Shift work, numbers on team being low, home life, children at home, leadership at all levels, complaints against officers, physical tiredness, pension changes, relationships with other teams and other parts of the organisation, racism in the workplace, how they get on in their team.

*This question is theoretically focused on availability, the issue of physical and emotional energy, insecurity and outside lives.*

3 – Think about when you felt particularly safe within either your internal work environment (station/organisation) or your external work environment (on the street) to get your work done in your way. What influenced how you felt during that time?

3A – Think about the reverse of that time, when you felt particularly repressed and unsafe within either your internal or external work environment and unable to do things in your way. What influenced how you felt during that time?

Possible prompts: Performance targets, moves from roles they enjoyed to roles they are doing now, new work initiatives, role of women in the organisation, physical safety, team bond, humour in the team, racism, bullying

*This question is theoretically focused on safety, the issue of management style and process, organisational norms, interpersonal relationships, and group & intergroup dynamics.*

4 – Think about a time when you felt you were making a significant difference at work. What was it about the task or the role that influenced how you felt at that time?

4A – Think about the reverse of that time when you felt what you were doing at work wasn't making a significant difference. What was it about the task or the role that influenced how you felt at that time?

Possible prompts: Hunting criminals, movement from a role they enjoyed into current role, or reverse, empathy with other people, other work environments (custody/CIT), hurdles in achieving an objective.

*This question is theoretically focused on meaningfulness, the issue of role, and task characteristics and work interactions.*

5 - In your daily role what would you need to be as efficient as you possibly could be?

5A – Over the longer term what would help you achieve your work aspirations?

Possible prompts: Job resources, vehicles, radios, management support, more people, custody suites that can take prisoners, MOE kit, computers

*This questions steers slightly away from Kahn and focusses on job resources as these were a significant feature in the observational data, and form a possible theoretical development of Kahn's model, particularly in times of financial austerity.*

6 – These questions have been focussed on trying to understand what are the main factors which allow you as an individual to give your very best at work. Is there anything we haven't covered that you would like to add now?

*This question is the 'catch all' and gives the interviewee freedom to take the interview in a different direction*

Thank interviewee for time, let them know what I'm doing and remind them offer to see the final thesis and confidentiality/anonymity agreement. Final check to ensure I have formal consent forms signed for individual.

**Appendix F – Case Study Database**

Item No.	Item Description	Item Location	Date viewed/referenced
1	Field diary of observations	Personal possession - Nick Caveney	04th July 2013 onwards
2	Eastshire Employee Engagement intranet page	<a href="http://Eastshireintranet.zodiac.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk/force_sites/departments/human_resources/leadership_development/employment_engagement.aspx">http://Eastshireintranet.zodiac.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk/force_sites/departments/human_resources/leadership_development/employment_engagement.aspx</a>	23rd July 2014
3	Eastshire Employee Engagement survey results intranet page	<a href="http://Eastshireintranet.zodiac.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk/force_sites/departments/human_resources/leadership_development/employment_engagement/employee_engagement_results.aspx">http://Eastshireintranet.zodiac.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk/force_sites/departments/human_resources/leadership_development/employment_engagement/employee_engagement_results.aspx</a>	23rd July 2014
4	Eastshire Employee Engagement documents intranet page	<a href="http://Eastshireintranet.zodiac.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk/force_sites/departments/human_resources/leadership_development/employment_engagement/employee_engagement_documents.aspx">http://Eastshireintranet.zodiac.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk/force_sites/departments/human_resources/leadership_development/employment_engagement/employee_engagement_documents.aspx</a>	23rd July 2014
5	Eastshire Mentoring intranet page	<a href="http://Eastshireintranet.zodiac.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk/force_sites/departments/human_resources/leadership_development/mentoring.aspx">http://Eastshireintranet.zodiac.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk/force_sites/departments/human_resources/leadership_development/mentoring.aspx</a>	23rd July 2014
6	Eastshire Performance Coaching intranet page	<a href="http://Eastshireintranet.zodiac.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk/force_sites/departments/human_resources/leadership_development/performance_coaching.aspx">http://Eastshireintranet.zodiac.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk/force_sites/departments/human_resources/leadership_development/performance_coaching.aspx</a>	23rd July 2014
7	Eastshire Way Intranet Page	<a href="\\hfs.main.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk\files\Webdocs\CorpComm\Posters\TheEastshireWayPoster.pdf">\\hfs.main.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk\files\Webdocs\CorpComm\Posters\TheEastshireWayPoster.pdf</a>	23rd July 2014

8	Eastshire Employee Assistance Programme intranet page	<a href="http://Eastshireintranet.zodiac.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk/force_sites/departments/human_resources/employee_assistance_prog.aspx">http://Eastshireintranet.zodiac.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk/force_sites/departments/human_resources/employee_assistance_prog.aspx</a>	23rd July 2014
9	HMIC Report "Responding to Austerity - Eastshire - July 2014"	<a href="http://www.hmic.gov.uk/publication/policing-in-austerity-meeting-the-challenge/">http://www.hmic.gov.uk/publication/policing-in-austerity-meeting-the-challenge/</a>	23rd July 2014
10	HMIC Report "Responding to Austerity - Westshire - July 2014"	<a href="http://www.hmic.gov.uk/publication/policing-in-austerity-meeting-the-challenge/">http://www.hmic.gov.uk/publication/policing-in-austerity-meeting-the-challenge/</a>	23rd July 2014
11	Eastshire 2018 Change Programme Intranet Page	<a href="http://Eastshireintranet.zodiac.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk/force_sites/departments/executive/programme_2018/communications_updates/all_staff_update_-_june_14.aspx">http://Eastshireintranet.zodiac.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk/force_sites/departments/executive/programme_2018/communications_updates/all_staff_update_-_june_14.aspx</a>	26th July 2014
12	Westshire Coaching & mentoring intranet page	<a href="http://Westshireintranet.sharedservices.police.cjx.gov.uk/depts/business_support/career_development/coaching_and_mentoring.aspx">http://Westshireintranet.sharedservices.police.cjx.gov.uk/depts/business_support/career_development/coaching_and_mentoring.aspx</a>	26th July 2014
13	Westshire - Our Style intranet page	<a href="\\hqdatacentreg.internal.Westshire.police.cjx.gov.uk\Global\CRIME REDUCTION OFFICERS\the_hub\publicity_material\posters\poster4.pdf">\\hqdatacentreg.internal.Westshire.police.cjx.gov.uk\Global\CRIME REDUCTION OFFICERS\the_hub\publicity_material\posters\poster4.pdf</a>	26th July 2014
14	Westshire - Staff Survey - You said we did intranet page - Oct 2013	<a href="http://Westshireintranet.sharedservices.police.cjx.gov.uk/news/corporate_news_archive/2013_archive/october/131010_-_staff_survey_you_said.aspx">http://Westshireintranet.sharedservices.police.cjx.gov.uk/news/corporate_news_archive/2013_archive/october/131010_-_staff_survey_you_said.aspx</a>	26th July 2014
15	Westshire - Staff Survey - You said we did intranet page - Jan 14 update	<a href="http://Westshireintranet.sharedservices.police.cjx.gov.uk/news/corporate_news_archive/2014_archive/january/140130_-_update_you_said_we_did.aspx">http://Westshireintranet.sharedservices.police.cjx.gov.uk/news/corporate_news_archive/2014_archive/january/140130_-_update_you_said_we_did.aspx</a>	26th July 2014

16	Westshire - Employee Assistance Programme - Introduced April 2104	<a href="http://Westshireintranet.sharedservices.police.cjx.gov.uk/news/corporate_news_archive/2014_archive/april/140429_-_new_employee_assistan.aspx">http://Westshireintranet.sharedservices.police.cjx.gov.uk/news/corporate_news_archive/2014_archive/april/140429 - new employee assistan.aspx</a>	26th July 2014
17	JPS Survey based on Westshire 2013 Survey developed by Durham University & Durham Constabulary	<a href="\\hdrives.main.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk\hdrives\$\260\JUPS - HR Issues">\\hdrives.main.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk\hdrives\$\260\JUPS - HR Issues</a>	26th July 2014
18	20 x Interview recordings	<a href="\\hdrives.main.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk\hdrives\$\260\DBA\Interviews">\\hdrives.main.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk\hdrives\$\260\DBA\Interviews</a>	26th July 2014
19	Signed consent forms for all research subjects	<a href="\\hdrives.main.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk\hdrives\$\260\DBA\Ethics Approval">\\hdrives.main.Eastshire.police.cjx.gov.uk\hdrives\$\260\DBA\Ethics Approval</a>	03rd November 2014
20	6 x analysis documents	Personal possession – Nick Caveney	July 2014 onwards

## **Appendix G – Documentary analysis**

### **Documentary Analysis**

#### **Eastshire Employee Engagement intranet Page (database 2)**

Describes employee engagement as the “promotion of a healthy and positive working environment”. Describes a “climate where employees feel able to give of their best”. Make links to importance during times of change. Refers to Eastshire brand for engagement the “Engagement 20” with reference to history of the process going back to 2009. This front page is championed by DCC XXX

Provides links to results intranet page

#### **Eastshire Employee Engagement survey results intranet page (database 3)**

Provides links to personal engagement results for everyone in the organisation. There are 2 parts to the survey. The first part will generate a profile as for manager so long as 2 or more first reports have provided a survey response. The survey is based strongly on the Gallup Q12 survey with some minor wording alteration and the removal of one factor. The second part of the survey is available for anyone who completed the survey and provides a personal work engagement profile. The 9 questions are the shortened version of the UWES.

Results are available on-line to employees for 2011, 2012 and 2013 although the UWES personal profile was only added in 2013.

#### **Eastshire employee engagement documents intranet page (database 4)**

Provides links to specific reports and useful information for those interested in tools/self development in the area of employee engagement. Included within these documents are the report “Engaging for Success: Enhancing performance through employee engagement – Macleod report 2009” and a document titled “Time for You”. Time for You is a template for a one to one conversation between supervisor and first line report prompting the supervisor to ask a number of questions which are broadly focused around the 4 transformational behaviours included within the Gallup Q12 (caring, knowing, inspiring, focusing). The page also carries a further link to a library of reports going back from 2004 to 2012 from a broad range of providers including the Chartered Institute of Personnel Development, Blessing White Consultancy & Coleysmith Consulting.

#### **Eastshire Mentoring intranet page (database 5)**

Carries an update from 07/01/13 stating “documents to follow soon”

#### **Eastshire Performance Coaching intranet page (database 6)**

Provides links to “What is coaching powerpoint of webinar from April 2011”, useful coaching documents and emotional intelligence page. “What is coaching powerpoint” developed by Eastshire with Richard Carr from “Q learning” consultancy – GROW model of coaching (Goals, Reality, Opportunity, Wrap Up/Will/What next). Useful documents page has links to a further 11 documents from GROW model to reports from the MPS & Oxford City Council. Emotional intelligence link is to “mindtools” external consultancy website.

**Eastshire Way Intranet Page (database 7)**

Provides a vision statement for the force defining a set of business objectives (investigate crime, protect the vulnerable, pursue criminals etc) a set of staff role behaviours (act with professionalism, value difference, remain positive when times are challenging etc) and a set of leadership behaviours (be visible, keep people involved by actively seeking ideas, create opportunities to learn) crucially including “Engage & Inspire other people”

**Eastshire Employee Assistance Programme intranet page (database 8)**

The EAP is a suite of confidential self service options open to Eastshire employees to gain advice on issues such as legal, financial, consumer and personal issues including counselling services. Launched with Westshire in Feb 2012. A tab on a drop down menu under “Employee Info”

**HMIC Report on Eastshire “Responding to Austerity – Eastshire – July 2014” (database 9)**

Eastshire Constabulary has impressive and well-established joint working arrangements with Westshire Police and Northshire Constabulary. The force is very well-placed to be able to continue to provide an effective service to the public while reducing its costs further. Overall rating ‘Good’

“How is the constabulary supporting its workforce to manage change and effective service provision?”

There is strong evidence in the move towards collaboration that frontline staff have been involved in a constructive way. A ‘readiness for change’ programme has been started to help prepare staff for collaboration. This has revealed different confidence levels in the three forces about the likelihood of success and has provided the change team with a clear view of the concerns that need to be addressed.

Eastshire Constabulary has signalled clearly the extent of the financial challenge through road shows, information on the intranet and 60-second briefings. Budget-holders and middle managers have an understanding that the budget and resource need to be managed carefully.

There is an overriding sense of pride in, and commitment to, the constabulary itself. The senior leaders (chief constable, deputy chief constable, assistant chief constable and chief finance officer) make sure that they are seen out and about around the constabulary. As a result, the workforce is clear that whatever is happening in terms of change is not because of any lack of leadership but as a result of financial and other pressures.”

**HMIC Report on Westshire “Responding to Austerity – Westshire – July 2014” (database 10)**

HMIC is encouraged by the progress Westshire Police is making in achieving its required savings. The force has ambitious plans for the future to improve policing in Westshire and achieve good value for money. However, the force faces some significant policing challenges in the short term. The force now needs to implement its ambitious plans for improving policing in Westshire in an affordable way more quickly, and in doing so it must ensure that policing services to the public remain effective.



Overall rating 'Requires improvement'

"How is the constabulary supporting its workforce to manage change and effective service provision?"

Police officer numbers had been allowed to fall to levels that made effective policing extremely challenging. This placed excessive pressures on staff and officers who were striving to do a good job in difficult circumstances. Westshire is a small force, with already low levels of resources, set against a backdrop of some serious policing challenges normally encountered in larger metropolitan forces with greater capacity. There is now a clear determination on the part of the chief constable and the PCC to preserve police officer and police community support officer (PCSO) numbers and to improve service provision. The force has recently recruited 60 police officers and plans a further recruitment exercise in October 2014. The force needs to ensure that police officer numbers do not fall below the agreed level so that service to the public is not put at risk.

The force recognises that, even with the additional recruitment, continuing austerity means that the workforce will inevitably be smaller than it once was; and that, as a consequence, staff need to be helped to work differently. There are plans to bring about the cultural change needed to make the organisation function more effectively. The force conducted a staff survey in July 2013. The feedback from staff led to the development of a range of actions including the introduction of annual and five-year provision plans, a realignment of force priorities and the reintroduction of annual appraisals.

The chief constable produces a weekly blog and uses this to keep staff up to date with changes and further plans. Together with the implementation of the annual and five-year provision plans, the blog has been an effective way to communicate clear messages to the workforce. One example of this is the force's emphasis on moving away from action being driven by targets, to a focus on taking whatever action is necessary to safeguard victims. Staff are being encouraged and supported in using their professional judgment to make decisions and do what is important for the community.

HMIC is encouraged that the force leadership has a good grasp and understanding of the issues and areas that need to improve. We found that the force is moving in the right direction and the pace of change is now increasing; however, many of the plans are still developing and there remains much uncertainty about the future. Nevertheless, there is an overriding sense of pride in the force itself. Leadership is clear and visible and as a consequence the workforce understands that the difficulties they are facing are not because of any lack of leadership. The force's difficulties are as a result of financial and other pressures, including the complex crime environment which, in some areas, is comparable to that of a large urban force"

**Eastshire 2018 Change programme intranet page 02<sup>nd</sup> July 2014 (database 11)**

Provides detail on change proposals for future change within the organisation, crucially devoting an entire section to "Effective Employee Engagement" and about what DCC Roome-Gifford describes as the "culture & climate of engagement" linked with the national code of ethics.

**Westshire Coaching & Mentoring intranet Page (database 12)**

A single intranet page for both processes details in general terms what the processes are. The page identifies some 15 organisational coach/mentors but does not differentiate between the two processes. There is no actual learning material included on the intranet page and the actual models being used are not identified.

### **Westshire – Our Style intranet page (database 13)**

Eastshire describe their vision in a single document “The Eastshire Way” whilst Westshire provide three separate documents, Our priorities, Our Purpose, Our Style. Our Style deal with the way in which the policing objectives of the organisation are to be achieved. It identifies three behaviours: Firm, Fair, Friendly in that order. Firm deals with crime fighting, being focused on public need and discipline, & confidence. Fair deals with respect for communities, resource use, and communication with the public. Friendly deals with care shown to one another, respect for diversity and working with communities.

### **Westshire – Staff Survey – You said we did – Oct 2013 (database 14)**

Westshire conducted a staff survey using a Blessing White consultancy instrument covering a wide range of topics. The detail of results and findings is not made public, however, the web page describes a number of thematic areas with “you said – we did” feedback. These include leadership themes, including requests for more support on the front line and more visible leadership, job resources themes, including request for the tools to do the job, and recognition themes, including requests for good performance to be recognised, poor performance to be tackled and a PDR system to be re introduced. There is one reference to “engagement activities” in the summary within the main page.

### **Westshire – Staff Survey – You said we did – Jan 2014 (database 15)**

Provides an update on themes identified in the October 2013 survey reiterating those messages already provided in October but also describing additional themes:

You said “The Strategic priority order, public, organisation, workforce means the workforce comes last in all force decisions and is not regarded as important to senior leaders”

You said “Don’t build solutions or change without consulting fully with the workforce”

You said “only two of the three running machines at Westshire town gym are working and the cross trainer is held together by cello tape. Both rowing machines are broken and the sole weights bench rocks from side to side”

You said “The shower room at Westshire town Police Station was out of action for six weeks after the floor was ripped up and a dehumidifier installed. There appeared to be no progress”

You said “We want to invest in our personal development”

### **Westshire Employee Assistance programme – Intranet page (database 16)**

The EAP is a suite of confidential self service options open to Eastshire employees to gain advice on issues such as legal, financial, consumer and personal issues including counselling services. Launched with Westshire in Eastshire in 2012. Main difference with Eastshire is where the service is hosted on the webpage. For Eastshire it is a tab on a drop down menu under “employee info”. For Westshire there is a menu called “employee info”,

however, it is not featured there but must be searched for and is an archive item under the Corporate News 2014 archive. In order to find out about this process in Westshire you would need to search specifically for it as a search term, in Eastshire you could stumble across it by looking at Employee info. This suggests that as an employee in Eastshire the force support mechanism afforded by this scheme is more readily accessible. This must be reflective of lesser emphasis on the scheme in Westshire as even if this is simply an oversight on behalf of an IT administrator the failure of anyone in the organisation to right this issue means that the reference to the scheme in Westshire is hard to find.

### **JPS Survey based on Westshire 2013 Survey (database 17)**

Westshire and JPS have enlisted the assistance of Dr Les Graham of Durham University who takes a quantitative approach to demonstrating the causal relationships between personal motivational factors, in role behaviours and performance outcomes. The theoretical concepts used are typically well validated theoretical constructs such as burnout, public service motivation, transformational leadership behaviours, and employee engagement measured by the short UWES instrument. This is the same as used in Eastshire from 2103 onwards. The survey instrument represents a well researched academically sound instrument with well validated results.

### **General documentary analysis comments**

Search term “Employee Engagement” on the Eastshire intranet provides direct link to a number of pages directly related to EE whilst the same search in Westshire returns nothing directly related.

### **Eastshire Level 2 thematic analysis**

#### **Evident focus on employee engagement**

Material available on the force intranet site and from the most recent HMIC inspection of the force show a clear emphasis on the engagement of the workforce as an important aspect of how organisation does business. There is a programme of employee engagement which goes back to 2009 and for which results are internally available from 2011 onwards. The programme is championed by the now Deputy Chief Constable and is referenced at many points throughout force communications, with employee engagement intranet pages. Employee engagement features explicitly in the Eastshire Way, the force mission statement. There are a number of tools which have been developed to support the engagement strategy including a clearly defined coaching model, products for one to one conversations (time for you) and the placement of the EAP in a prominent position under the employee info tab on the main intranet site. In July 2014 the HMIC commented positively upon front line staff involvement in change programmes and high levels of senior leadership visibility.

#### **Theoretical models – Q12 & UWES**

The organisation has been using the Gallup Q12 since 2009, probably as a result of the early links it forged with private industry groups who also use the instrument. The force has adopted the UWES as a well validated instrument in 2013 in a bid to increase response rates to the survey and in so doing ensure representativeness by providing every survey responder with a personal engagement profile.

**Coaching & mentoring**

The organisation has a very clear definition of coaching, using the GROW model. It clearly differentiates coaching behaviours from mentor behaviours. Its mentor programme is under construction, and shows no update on the intranet page from January 2013 suggesting that this programme has not been positively pursued by the organisation.

**Westshire level 2 thematic analysis****Little historic focus on employee engagement**

Material on the force intranet shows little focus on employee engagement in the organisation's history. An intranet search on "employee engagement" returns no direct matches. The force way of delivering "our style" does not refer to engagement of staff. The same employee engagement programme as operated in Eastshire is not prominent on the force intranet and has to be actively searched for reducing the likelihood of speculative discovery. The 2013 staff survey showed a high level of concern with leadership visibility and the direction of the organisation. There was no PDR process until 2014. The HMIC commented that the reduction in officer numbers had placed excessive pressure on the workforce and commented upon the changes indicated following the force survey. Positive comments were made regarding the force's future direction under the new chief constable which accords with the involvement of Durham University and a well validated survey instrument.

**Theoretical models – UWES/PSM/Burnout/Transformational leadership**

By working with Durham University the organisation has taken in a significant number of well validated theoretical constructs which are now being used within a single survey instrument. There is commonality between Eastshire in the usage of the UWES short version.

**Coaching & Mentoring**

The organisation has a single intranet page and groups mentoring and coaching together, essentially as a single provision. This may be pragmatic, however, does not recognise the theoretical differences in the two processes and offers no model for either. A number of practitioners are signposted on the intranet page. Whilst the provision appears pragmatic it potentially lacks a degree of quality assurance in respect of what is actually being delivered to those who receive coaching/mentoring.

**HMIC 2014 Reports – Organisational wellbeing.**

Good overall rating with evidence of frontline staff consultation in change. Requires improvement overall rating with positivity towards the future but recognition of significant development areas.

## **Appendix H – Embedded Analysis documents**

The analysis process involved a thematic analysis under each of Kahn's (1990) psychological preconditions, plus methodology, job resources and additional themes. These analyses are extensive and much of the content is used within the main document, hence these documents are detailed on the case study database. Including them in full here caused compromise of anonymity.

## Appendix I – Illustrative extract from field diary (redacted to protect anonymity)

(8)

(no issue at the real address) he returns to the lady's address and apologises. I'm not sure whether [redacted] did this of his own rational volition or because we had a joke about the incident and I'm upsetting the lady. Nonetheless the act demonstrated a good degree of professionalism. 1700 - call to Aske on report of an assault whereby the victim is a PPO. My rational reaction to this is a "rubbish" job. Typically [redacted] has level nine. I will be interested to see how [redacted] & [redacted] react.

1710 - Taking statements from the PPO and his former friend at their home address.

1756 - [redacted] & [redacted] take the finished statements (45 minutes)

Despite the victim being a PPO both officers have approached the job professionally. They have recorded 2 statements, are considering which officer is the most appropriate, intend collecting possible CCTV and arresting the offender. Whilst they recognise that the victim in this case is himself a police offender this does not appear to have resulted in stigmatisation or their dealing with the matter in any a less professional manner.

1800 - Return to [redacted] PS to acknowledge quality of crime details & return

1835 - Arrest enquiry for a DV related matter. Role is in with no police aggression / problem issues. [redacted] & [redacted] are met by [redacted] to provide additional support during arrest.

1910 - Arrived at [redacted] custody. Explain to custody Sgt & staff what I am doing. 3x custody Sgt on duty (unusually high?) - custody is calm & apparently quiet - custody Sgt immediately references the annual [redacted] [redacted] upon my explanation of what I'm doing.

[redacted] & [redacted] get immediate attention from custody staff

On route [redacted] referred to possibility of "double jeopardy" for the shift referring to possibility of 2x arrests in the shift. This appeared to excite / motivate both [redacted] & [redacted]. Not sure whether this is real motivation, being tongue in cheek or a position of the cultural "love of action"?

- [redacted] explanation of goals of arrest is clear & accurate
- custody have 6 detainees and currently 3 Sgts (1x principle, 1x searching & 1 being rebooked). This is a high ratio, however, they don't have

## Appendix J – Illustrative extract from interview data capture

Interviewee	1 - How did you find having me as a researcher with you in your car/team?	2 - Think about a time when you came to work feeling particularly full of energy and enthusiastic about your day. What factors influenced how you felt?	2A - Now think of a time when you felt the reverse of that, feeling particularly tired and not really wanting to get involved. What influenced how you were feeling?
AE	AE - You made it clear on that day that you were Nick and not working, but we were aware you were a Chief Inspector, we're not going to forget about it. It didn't bother me, I was happy to do things in the way I always do things and say things that I always say.	AE - I generally look forward to everyday I work, we all have bad days, but most days I feel ready to go. Nothing specific that makes me particularly enthusiastic.	AE - Dealing with a prisoner who was HIV positive. I had to go through the rigmarole of medication, coming back to work made me feel particularly crap, I was dubious about going out, dealing with people, I'd become very cautious. I wasn't bothered about going out, I wanted to come to work because I was bored at home but not too worried about going out, obviously because of what I'd been through. It didn't just affect me, it affected my whole life, my family and my kids.
BW	BW - I didn't have an issue with you being there, I just carried on as normal. You explained to us that you're not there as a Chief Insp but as a student, which made it a lot easier. I just did my job as normal.	BW - Generally I enjoy coming into work, I enjoy the job. It's like anything else you have good days, you have bad days.	BW - During Ramadan last year when I was fasting I found it really difficult to work and that's generally because you're fasting you can't drink any water anything like that. I didn't really want to be at work but it's just that period.
CE	CE - No I didn't think it was an issue, I thought you acted as a normal ride along. I think we sometimes forgot to mention to members of the public who you were.	CE - I get days like that on a regular basis particularly if you've had a good result on the previous day. Describes a time when he had arrested 3 persons for theft of mobile phone from a club/pub following the phone being tracked by the owner. Went back in daylight to where the 3 had been detained and recovered a further 10 phones. If you get a good result it does lift morale.	CE - Having to work beyond your allocated time. Provides an example of a high risk missper, due to be staff protection which was cancelled and then due to be going out that evening in London. All cancelled and spent the day finishing approx 2000 searching forest. Deflated a few, missper found safe and well in an address the following day. The current shift pattern I quite favour - except half nights which leaves full nights poorly staffed.

## Appendix K – Data triangulation guide

Methodology	Interview Questions					Observations	Documentary Analysis
	Availability	Safety	Meaningfulness	Job resources	Others		
Suspicion of researcher as CI	Intra-team dynamics play a large role in officer attitudes to their work environment	Peer expectations & pressures – Solidarity to ostracism	Individuals find altruistic and self fulfilment in actions which help their team	Peer support and acceptance	Organisational cultural self perception – Not what the organisation wants/thinks?	Availability – Evidence of Kahn themes, physical & emotional energy, insecurity, outside life	Focus on Engagement – Significant differences in focus between Westshire/Eastshire – Eastshire has clear leadership & embedded process since 2009 – Westshire link with Durham in 2014
Subjects relax through time with researcher	Getting a result energises the team on the following day	Supervisory attitude – supportive and trusting or hierarchically transactional	Public Service motivation – genuine care towards public	Supervisory dynamic – Split from supportive to self interested	Senior officer impact – Comms style, visibility, lacking confidentiality	Safety – Evidence of 4 Kahn themes, interpersonal & group dynamics, management style, organisational norm	Models used – Eastshire used Q12 since 2009 with addition of UWES in 2013, Westshire using UWES, PSM, burnout, transformational leadership since 2013-14
Rank creates more barriers than being an insider (officer) removes	Getting a 'result' not a love of action appears a prime motivator	Organisational process and role constraint	Organisational hierarchy & process constraints	Contraction in training and development opportunities		Meaningfulness – Evidence of 4 Kahn themes task & role characteristics & work interactions	Coaching & Mentoring – Eastshire differentiate and use GROW coach model, Westshire don't differentiate the concepts
	Work life affects home life but generally only negatively	Experience, knowledge & familiarity with role	Problem solving and autonomy – Dealing with causes not symptoms	Equipment – Generally negative issues of missing basics kit	Job resources – Equipment particularly uniform	Job resources – Don't fit into Kahn taxonomy but real issues cars, kit, people, units	HMIC 2014 reports – organisational wellbeing – Eastshire Good – Westshire Requires Improvement



	Home life affects work life both positively and negatively	Job resources – Kit – Taser, computers	Proper victims & vulnerable victims – Organisational issue for repeat DV	Technology – Strong examples of technology revolutionising practise and future options		Personal aspiration – (promotion/lateral) doesn't appear to fit in Kahn taxonomy but key motivator	
	Perceived value and fairness in work allocations play a role in attitudes to work	Time & volume of work pressure exerted through control rooms & supervisors	Vacuum in partner agency services frustrates officers	Officer numbers and reduced time with public	Job resources – Officer numbers	Perceived benefits of being a police officer during observational research – opposite found for interviews	
	Westshire/Eastshire difference in importance of hygiene factors (food, sleep, food) with Westshire reporting significant burn out & exhaustion	Westshire/Eastshire difference in views of resource level and physical safety afforded by those resources		Westshire/Eastshire difference in nature of pessimism of future- Westshire overall pessimism and lacking opportunity	Westshire/Eastshire difference in acute nature of welfare concern		